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AND
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE**

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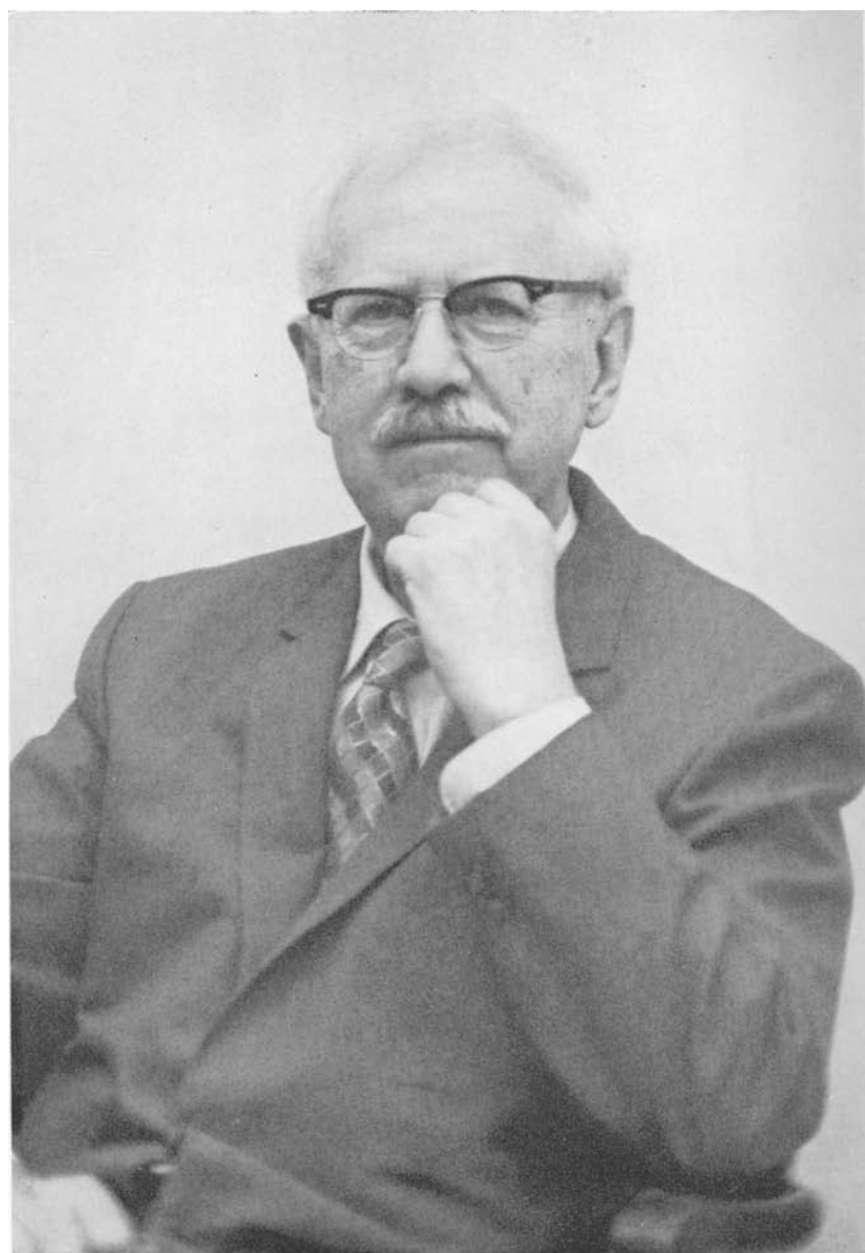
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STUDIES IN NEW TESTAMENT
AND
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF ALLEN P. WIKGREN

EDITED BY

DAVID EDWARD AUNE



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PREFACE

The colleagues of Allen Wikgren, including many former students, take great delight in presenting him with this collection of essays written in his honor. The occasion is his sixty-fifth birthday and coincident retirement from the position of Professor of New Testament and Chairman of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature at the University of Chicago.

Both the title and contents of the present volume reflect the kinds of concerns which have characterized this Department since its inception in 1892 under the leadership of Ernest DeWitt Burton. Other distinguished predecessors of Professor Wikgren, who has chaired the Department since 1953, include Edgar J. Goodspeed (acting chairman, 1923-25; chairman, 1925-37), Donald Wayne Riddle (acting chairman, 1937-38), Ernest Cadman Colwell (1938-46), and Amos N. Wilder (1946-53). Two of these scholars, E.D. Burton and E.C. Colwell, subsequently held the position of President of the University.

At the insistence of President Harper and Professor Burton, the Department was originally established to function in both the Divinity School and the Division of Humanities of the University. In consequence of this, the Department has continued to maintain close ties with the Biblical Field of the Divinity School and has also sought to foster close relationships with other departments within the Division of the Humanities, particularly those concerned with classical and oriental languages and literatures. The first three sections of the present volume, which constitute the great majority of contributed essays, includes studies in text and lexicography, literary studies and historical studies. Emphasis on these areas has become a tradition vigorously maintained throughout the past eighty years. The lack of departmental preoccupation with theological studies (a more characteristic concern of the Biblical Field within the Divinity School of the University), is fortuitously represented in the present volume by the fourth—and shortest—section.

Both the desirability and feasibility of a collection of essays in honor of Professor Wikgren was initially discussed with Professors Calvin Katter and Norman Ericson; the editor is grateful for the

stimulus provided by these discussions. An additional word of appreciation is due the firm of E.J. Brill and its Classical Editor, Mr. T.A. Edridge, for helpful suggestions and a willingness to see the volume through to publication.

DAVID E. AUNE

I. TEXTUAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

ANIMALS AND SYMBOLISM IN LUKE (LEXICAL NOTES ON LUKE-ACTS, IX)

HENRY J. CADBURY

Harvard University *

Gladly accepting the invitation to join the group of friends of Allen P. Wikgren who delight to do him honor on this occasion, I naturally turn my thoughts to the task in which we both had a part—the making of a fresh English translation of the Old Testament Apocrypha for the Revised Standard Version. Our panel of not more than ten persons met frequently and intensively in the years 1953 to 1956, including seven full fortnights, and was drawn into physical and intellectual fellowship as we shared the interests and frustrations incidental to all processes of translation. Beside the visible fellowship we felt a bond with previous translators, and indeed with the very authors of the texts we were translating, since many of them, whether in Greek or Latin or other languages, were themselves translating.¹

I shall call attention here to just one of the problems in this task. As translators, secular as well as Biblical, agree, no two languages have exact equivalents for every notion or nuance of thought. And different cultures use quite different terms for the same general concept. Most cultures at times use some animals symbolically.² One duty of a translator is to note the extent to which this is true of his underlying text and then to inquire how he can transfer the symbolism to his second milieu. I shall try to illustrate this problem, not from the Apocrypha, but from another smaller body of Biblical literature, the writings of Luke the evangelist. This collection of suggestions may be regarded as a belated instalment, No. IX, in my series of "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts."³

* Professor emeritus.

¹ See my article "The Grandson of Ben Sira," *Harvard Theological Review*, 48 (1955), 219-25.

² To judge from the index of W. Carew Hazlitt's *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, 2nd ed. (London, 1882), few subjects are more characteristic in English symbolism than a score of words of familiar fauna, —asses, bears, bees, birds, cats, etc.

³ "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. I," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 44 (1925), 214-27; "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. II and III," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 45 (1926), 190-209, 305-322; "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. IV," *Journal of Biblical Literature*,

The references to animals by the evangelists are more numerous than might be expected, and Luke in both his works is as full of them as the other books. But his use is not specially different, only typical. For this, both his cultural similarity of outlook and literary connection with Matthew and Mark are responsible. Collective reference to birds of the heaven, whatsoever is under the earth, the fish of the sea, as drawing men to the Kingdom of Heaven was formerly found in a conjectural textual completion of one of the Greek *agrapha*,¹ but the discovery of the full Coptic text of the Gospel of Thomas shows that the wording is somewhat different. Perhaps the largest single collection of animal terms occurs in Mt. 10.16 : "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Luke has only the first half and uses the unique *ἀπρως* for the more general *πρόβατα*.

Subdivisions or classifications are made by various students in various ways. I may mention at once some of the previous discussions of our general topic in the Bible. Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon* is the classic *magnum opus* in this field. He dealt with both Testaments and the treatment in various languages. His work was first issued in 1663 but reprinted and enlarged, a fourth edition with contributions by John Leusden in 1712, and an edition of 1793-96 by E.F.C. Rosenmüller.

Other writings worth noting are B.H. Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible* (1867, and later editions), W.M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (1859, and later editions), and most recently F.S. Bodenheimer, "Fauna," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (1962), II, 246-57, with a bibliography almost up to date. On individual species the alphabetized articles in the same dictionary by W.G. McCullough may be consulted. For the evangelists I may call attention to the article "Animals," written more than sixty years ago by my friend H.G. Wood in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed. J. Hastings (1909), I, 62-69.

The first problem in translating is that of identifying the items

48 (1929), 412-25; "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts V, Luke and the Horse Doctors," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 52 (1933), 55-65; "A Proper Name for Dives (Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts, VI)," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 81 (1962), 399-402; "Some Lukan Expressions of Time (Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts VII)," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 82 (1963), 272-78; and the forthcoming "Litotes in Acts (Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts VIII)," in the *Festschrift for A. Gingrich* (1972).

¹ P. Oxy. 654. Cf. M.R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 26.

in the original text with the names for them in the language of the receptor version. The modern scientific classification—usually with Greek or Latin names—of all natural phenomena—diseases, stones (the high priest's breastplate, or Rev. 21.18-21), plants, as well as living creatures—poses in itself a problem for descriptions in a non-scientific popular culture. There are special handbooks for translators, on flora and fauna of the Bible¹ as well as on Luke and Acts.²

Without going into details one knows quite well the difficulties here involved. And the words that earlier translators into modern European languages accepted are not now always acceptable. Thus the animal on which Jesus entered Jerusalem is described in Mark and Luke³ simply as *πῶλος*. Walter Bauer has convincingly argued that the word can be used of the *young* of almost any animal, but that when the species is not indicated in the context it always means a *horse*.⁴ Hence only in Matthew (*ὄνος, ὑποζύγιον*) and John (*ὄνάριον, ὄνος*) are we justified in thinking of an ass.⁵ When the Quakers in 1656 staged an imitation of this event in Bristol with James Naylor they used a horse, not a donkey, little realizing the support they had in Mark and Luke.

Sometimes a single Greek term has two quite probable English translations. *ἄλωπηξ* usually translated fox, may very likely mean jackal, and *ἀετός*, eagle, is equally suitable for our word vulture. *περιστέρα* occurs only twice in Luke (2.24; 3.22), but it has commonly been translated in one case "pigeons" and in the other "dove". Luke alone among the evangelists does not refer to the sale of these birds in the Temple precincts.

The use of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit at the baptizing of Jesus, in Lk. 3.22 quite literally "in bodily form," occurs in this sense in all the gospels, and has entered into Christian art. Its origin is really unknown and, contrary to expectation, Paul Billerbeck, after a substantial discussion,⁶ concludes: "There is no passage in

¹ Garland Bare, *Plants and Animals of the Bible*; K.E. Jordt Jørgensen, *Fauna and Flora of the Bible*.

² Barclay Newman and E.A. Nida, *Handbook on Acts* (1972), and L. Swellengrebel and J. Reiling, *Translators Handbook of Luke* (1971).

³ At Lk. 19.40, the Vulgate reads *pullum asinae* which accounts there for the English "colt of an asse" (Rheims, 1582), or "an asses colte" (Great Bible, 1540).

⁴ Walter Bauer, "The 'Colt' of Palm Sunday," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 72 (1953), 220-29.

⁵ Luke shows he knows the word *ὄνος* (Lk. 13.15; 14.5, v. l.), but never uses *ἵππος*.

⁶ *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Misrasch* (München, 1922), I, 124f.

the older [rabbinic] literature in which the dove was clearly and plainly a symbol of the Holy Spirit."

As suggested by the bibliography, one must be aware of the distinction between a collective term and the name of certain species. That is apparent if, as just suggested, *πῶλος* was used now in one and now in another sense. I suspect that sometimes a more specific word is followed by a general word. So in Mt. 21.5, *ὄνος* is followed (literally also) by a colt (*πῶλος*) and the foal of a *ὑποζύγιον* (beast of burden). Thus in Lk. 12.24 the ravens (*κόρακες*) are mentioned as not needing to worry about food because God cares for them and Jesus' human auditors are much superior to birds (*τὰ πετεινά*). The choice among birds of ravens, as recipients of God's care, doubtless goes back to Job 38.41 and Psalms 147.9, a choice repeatedly echoed in the early rabbinic literature. The viper (*ἔχιδνα*) on Paul's hand in Malta (Acts 28.3) is referred to in each of the following verses as *τὸ θηρίον*. And in a context to be discussed later, Lk. 18.15-17 refers to the *βρέφη* (babes of the breast) and later to children in general (*παιδιά*). In the vegetable kingdom we may compare Luke's phrases "the fig tree and all the trees" (21.29 *τὴν συκὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα*) or "mint and rue and every herb" (11.42 *τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πήγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον*), and, in a different enumeration, 24.27 "beginning from Moses and from all the prophets."

That Luke had his own suggestion of subdivisions of the animal kingdom is clear, if the text can be trusted at Acts 10.12, reading "quadrupeds and creeping things of the earth and birds of the heaven" (*τετράποδα καὶ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐράνου*), while in some manuscripts here and in all of them in the parallel passage (Acts 11.6), this classification seems to be mixed with another which distinguishes quadrupeds (domestic animals?) from wild beasts, if that is what *τὰ θηρία* means here, making four terms instead of the three above. So in Hebrew *hayya* is used both for animals in general and also specifically for wild animals in contrast to domestic cattle (*behemah*).

A different classification of animate objects is that of the Jewish dietary laws. These may well have been familiar to Luke. Indeed the passages in Acts just mentioned, dealing with Peter's contact with Cornelius, suggest precisely the distinction "clean" and "unclean" in the cultic sense, but the transcending rather than the observance of the distinction is the emphasis in the episode.

Luke shows a liking for using pairs, perhaps certain pairs, when

using illustrations drawn from animals and animal life. So we have in Lk. 9.58, foxes have holes and birds of the heaven have nests; in Lk. 10.19, tread upon serpents and scorpions; cf. Lk. 11.12, will he give him a serpent or a scorpion?¹; Lk. 13.15, does he not loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and Lk. 14.5, if anyone's ass or ox fall in a pit (but many manuscripts here read "son or ox"). A pairing of flora and fauna appears in the warnings against worry in Lk. 12. 24, 27 : "Consider the ravens ... consider the lilies." Here Matthew has "birds of the heaven ... lilies of the field." In some others of the above examples Matthew is identical or altogether missing.

The difference between the terminology of the evangelists and our natural choice is shown by selections in other terms than animal symbolism. As I have written elsewhere:²

No part of a language group is more distinctive or idiomatic than the picturesque phrases it uses for superlatives. We should recognize as familiar in our own time the expressions "to hunt a needle in a haystack," "to miss hitting a barn door," "to cross your t's and dot your i's," "to be as alike as two peas," and we know that other modern languages often have just as distinctive expressions which differ entirely from our own. [In glancing recently at a local college weekly I noted a writer's rather fresh phrase : "But in this little article I do not propose to empty the ocean with a spoon." Its unfamiliarity was at once explained when I looked back to see who wrote the article—a visiting professor from Italy]. Many of the superlatives used in the gospels, can, in a most interesting way, be paralleled from the rabbinic literature. For "camel through the needle's eye" the Babylonian Jews said "elephant through the needle's eye." Both express the impossible. Whether camels were known in Babylonia or not, elephants were not unfamiliar in Palestine. But camel occurs again in the gospel as the big creature, over against the gnat : "Strain out the gnat and swallow the camel." Then we have rabbinic parallels to the removal of a mote or a beam; they are spoken of in connection with censoriousness, as in the gospels. The foreign objects are, however, between the eyes, or between the teeth. From another sphere of life we have the minimum expressed by a mustard seed, the maximum by a tree or mountain. Even more typical of the bookish, letter-conscious scribe or scholar is the mention by Jesus of the immutability in the law of even the jot or the tittle. The former is the smallest letter of the alphabet; the latter is a decorative flourish placed over letters of the Old Testament texts in Hebrew, frequently mentioned not by the Latin name tittle or *titulus* but by the Semitic word for horn (so the Greek in Matthew), or thorn or crown.

That the vocabulary of the gospels has now long afterwards passed

¹ Rabbinic literature also shows a fondness for pairing snakes and scorpions.

² *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus* (New York, 1937; reprinted 1963), pp. 56f.

into common speech is an important warning against any assumption of the inability of such expressions to prevail beyond their time and place of origin. Our own non-biblical terminology in such areas of speech is also used outside of its natural milieu and not by benefit of clergy. We refer to haystacks when they are not any part of our experience, and the same may be said of other superlatives from animals, like ox or beaver. Direct personal acquaintance with the objects named in such traditional vocabulary is not to be taken for granted.

When the translator meets a proverbial or symbolic use of animal figures, it cannot be assumed that the connotation in the language of the original would be the same in the language into which he is translating. A skilful translator might be able to find an equivalent figure as he makes the transition. Compare the use of camel and elephant respectively in the phrase above about the needle's eye. On the other hand, a real transfer from one culture to another may often seem impossible. Translators of the Bible into the wide world variety of language are naturally aware of that. Perhaps it is as well illustrated as anywhere by the problem of making clear to the Esquimaux that most common experience of Palestine (whether literal or figurative) of the sheep and shepherd and flock. For all its original appeal, the Twenty-Third Psalm is not easily domesticated in every culture.

Even between modern European languages symbolism is not always exactly parallel, and the translators, particular by in spontaneous, simultaneous and instantaneous translation, are at a handicap, as is suggested by Oscar Konstadt's little collection of *One Hundred Proverbs with their Equivalents in German, French, Italian and Spanish* (Malvern, England, 1958). In some cases the semantic equivalent is identical with an English phrase, but in others it is quite different.

Yet when animals or other objects are mentioned in either a literal or a figurative sense it is natural to inquire what the users' experience of them would testify, rather than what has been transferred to the object by tradition or folklore or proverb. The individual speaker is more or less subject to tradition or convention. Some animal lore in the ancient world became common property. The figure of Aesop both follows and precedes such a stream of influence. Few readers of Shakespeare recognize that some of the more than four thousand allusions to animals in his plays went back in his mind and in that of his audiences to the widely conned fables attributed to Aesop.

They were part of the European cultural heritage.¹ But probably earlier, also, a certain amount of common lore extended beyond frontiers. The transfer of a motif from one culture to another is perhaps seen in the theme of the man removing a splinter from a lion's foot. Behind Bernard Shaw's *Ancrocles and the Lion* is the early Christian Acts of Paul, and behind that the Hellenistic painting at Syracuse mentioned in Pliny the Elder *Hist. nat.* 8.21 as well as the accounts in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* v. 14; and Aelian, *N.A.* vii.48.

When the translator of an ancient writing into a modern tongue has finally determined zoologically what terms in each writing are linguistic and objective equivalents one has still to inquire whether the metaphorical overtones in each match.

Most of Luke's references to animals can be left quite literally, without any suspicion of further connotation. There are a few passages that are plainly figurative. They are the cases where men are described in animal terms. In Aesop human traits were assigned to animals; in other literature animal traits are assigned to men. The application is sometimes made explicit by the accompanying adjective, as in such familiar English phrases as "busy as bees," "strong as an ox," "working like beavers," "happy as a lark," or "crazy as a June bug." In recent years we are familiar with the simple political division of Doves and Hawks. Similar is the command of Jesus, "be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." This is in Mt. 10.16, not in Luke's parallel. But the adjectives make less ambiguous the characteristic of the persons intended.² One does not need here to inquire whether these attributions were customary or natural. Certainly serpents were used in a pejorative sense both then and now. Both shrewdness and hostility were shared in their ancient reputation. In the Jewish-Christian tradition the story of Genesis 3 led indeed to both a favorable and unfavorable opinion. This has been fully illustrated by Samuel T. Lachs in his well-documented article on "Serpent Folklore in Rabbinic Literature," *Jewish Social Studies*, 27 (1965), 168-84.

A quite different ambiguity about the snake image is reflected by the competing tradition of owls. The following reminiscence of an occurrence at a relatively new American college is characteristic :

¹ Audrey E. Yoder, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal* (New York, 1947).

² The adjectives are, however, not completely unambiguous; New English Bible used "wary" for the first (*φρόνιμοι*) and "innocent" for the second (*ἀκέραιοι*).

The classes and committee chosen to select the shield for BMC had no thought of owls. We wanted to find something distinctive, and presented to Miss Thomas [M. Carey Thomas, President] the drawing of a snake. Miss Thomas in her most breathless and tactful manner said that she thought the novelty of the choice would mark us as a new college. She suggested the owls as more typical of wisdom and learning. I was there. I heard her in 1904.¹

And owls it became.

It may be said that there is hardly any other creature with a richer mythology and symbolism than the snake. This probably goes as far back as the palaeolithic age, as representations believed to be snakes have been found in the caves. It has naturally aroused fear and wonder—numinous reactions related to magic and worship. Moreover, primitive folk—food gatherers and hunters, tend to regard animals as cleverer than themselves. In Genesis 3.1 the serpent is the most crafty of creatures.²

For our Jewish-Christian inheritance the story that follows that passage became the basis of a varied and complicated piece of folklore.

The generally hostile attitude to men is naturally expressed if not for snakes, at least for vipers. The phrase *γεννήματα ἔχιδνῶν* occurs on the lips of John the Baptist in Lk. 3.7 and is not independent of the parallel in Mt. 3.7, the latter author repeating the phrase on the lips of Jesus in 12.34 and 23.33.³

Luke uses the same reptile name near the end of his work, at Acts 28.3, "Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, and there came a viper (*ἔχιδνα*) out of the heat, and fastened on his hand," etc. In the sequel, as we have already noted, the viper is twice referred to as *τὸ θηρίον*. The scene is on the island of Malta, following the shipwreck on its coast. While nothing untoward happened to Paul, the quick succession of shipwreck and viper attack was striking and meaningful. It pointed to the traditional nemesis on a criminal, but in the end the natives drew the opposite conclusion that Paul must be a god. That this is a motif of folklore is to be taken for granted, but that it is also animal lore one would not expect. The fire is not the alternative to water as a means of divine punishment, but the snake itself is the expected agency.⁴

This passage has more than once had my attention. As I wrote

¹ Hortense Flexner King, '07, in the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* (Spring, 1971), p. 21.

² I quote a personal letter from Edward A. Armstrong; cf. also S.T. Lachs, *op. cit.*

³ The manuscript tradition has as a variant *γένημα*.

⁴ Cf. S.T. Lachs, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

in 1927, "It would be difficult to find a scene more full of the viewpoint of antiquity than this at Malta."¹ In repeating all I had said I added in 1955² a quotation from T.E. Lawrence from our time, and a copybook maxim from Egypt four or five centuries after Paul's shipwreck. That was written in Greek in the Fourth or Fifth Century. Perhaps from near that date comes another, perhaps the nearest parallel. It is an epitaph also in Greek:

The shipwrecked mariner had escaped the whirlwind and the fury of the deadly sea, and he was lying on the Libyan sand not far from the beach, deep in his last sleep, naked and exhausted by the unhappy wreck, a baneful viper (*λυπρὸς ἔχης*) slew him. Why did he struggle with the waves in vain, escaping thence the fate that was his lot on the land?³

Perhaps we should compare the illustration in Amos 5.19 : « It is as when a man flees from a lion and a bear meets him, or escapes into a house and leans his hand against the wall and a serpent bites him" (LXX: *δάκη αὐτὸν ὁ ὄφις*).

While Luke's account emphasizes Paul's immunity amid danger, it evidently assumes the proverbial attitude of antiquity toward fatalism. Our expression for the situation would be expressed perhaps quite differently, perhaps like "out of the frying pan into the fire." That the ancient world used the snake as the punitive *deus ex machina* suggests how much of the connotation of the story at Malta is untranslated, perhaps untranslatable, in any modern language.⁴

The parables in Lk. 15 and 16 have several animals of the domesticated kind. The shepherd with one hundred sheep belongs to one of the most characteristic features of life in Bible times. Lk. 2.8ff. had shepherds with their flocks in the fields near Bethlehem in his story of Jesus' birth. He uses the figure of the shepherd in the address at Miletus (Acts 20.18) and both there (20.29) and in Jesus' address to his disciples (Lk. 10.3 = Mt. 10.16) he refers to the undomesticated enemies of sheep, the wolves. It is not in Luke but in Mt. 7.15 that

¹ *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York, 1927; 2nd ed., 1958), p. 341; see pp. 341-44.

² *The Book of Acts in History* (New York, 1955), pp. 28f.

³ *Anthol. Pal.* 7.290, cited already *ad loc.* by J.J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1751-52), and by E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1956). Cf. G.H.C. Macgregor in the *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. IX. The translation given above is by W.R. Paton in the Loeb Library. The author is given as Statyllius Flaccus.

⁴ We should note that in the next preceding epitaph in *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 289, the shipwrecked mariner on shore is destroyed by a wolf.

we get reference to wolves in sheep's "clothing"—an almost Aesopic touch.

The changed diet of the prodigal son from the pods in an alien country fed to swine to the fatted calf (Lk. 15.23, 27, 30; *ὁ μύσχος ὁ σιτευτός*) in his father's house, corresponds to his change of fortune, and carries no further symbolism. Both here and in the scene of the Gadarene demoniac the domestication of swine with persons to feed (*βόσκειν*) them, is not attributed to Jews, but I think the author is not pressing that special Jewish aversion. Nor is it clear that the dogs that lick the sores of Lazarus (Lk. 16.21) are spoken of as an aggravation of his discomfort. The use of *ἐπεθύμει* (*ἐπιθυμῶν*) *χορτασθῆναι* in 15.16 and 16.21 shows the kinship of these two parables. While dogs in Palestine were at times both scavengers and pets, the strong religious objection is not present in Luke as it is for both swine and dogs in Mt. 7.6 :

Give not that which is holy to the dogs,
Nor cast ye your pearls before swine.

Perhaps the best example of the translator's insoluble problem is the passage in Lk. 13.31. Some Pharisees warn Jesus to move on from where he is (in Perea ?), travelling to Jerusalem, 13.22, because Herod (Antipas) wishes to kill him. Jesus replying says : "Go tell that fox, Lo, I cast out demons and perform cures today and tomorrow and the day after, because it is not possible for a prophet to perish outside of Jerusalem." Why does Luke (or Jesus) adopt for Herod the sobriquet *ἀλώπηξ* ("fox")? One can search ancient literature, classical, Hellenistic or rabbinic, for any single distinctive appropriate connotation of this animal. And what would the phrase mean naturally today whether we retain the English translation "fox" or accept as zoologically more probable 'jackal'?¹ Not only do some animals change their character over the years, but also their reputations even in proverbs change. We know that over the years dogs have become domesticated and even trained quite contrary to their primitive character, and huntsmen who follow the hounds suspect that foxes too have been sharpened by being pursued.² They, like the rest of us, think of the fox as sly, crafty, but we must seriously question

¹ This ambiguity—fox vs. jackal—extends back in the Near East both in language and in art long before Bible times, according to F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animals and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 44, 100.

² Cf. Joseph B. Thomas, *Hounds and Hunting through the Ages* (New York, 1928).

what ἀλώπηξ in this passage without any adjective to help us, or even a decisive context really conveyed. That it was written by or for persons addicted to fox hunting is quite improbable. And the only other reference to the animal in the gospels, as we have already seen, is to the self-sufficiency of birds and foxes in no hostile sense.

In conclusion let me mention briefly a much more serious ambiguity in the gospels. I refer to the words of Jesus about children. In associating this topic with the fauna of the gospels, I am not passing out of the animal kingdom. The words are famous and frequent, partly because with our three parallel gospels they seem to recur so often. Jesus is represented as recommending to adults some undefined feature of children. What he or his reporters had in mind is a substantial problem. Without attempting to deal with it fully,¹ I use it to illustrate the translator's as well as the commentator's problem in dealing with the literal intention. The principal passages are :

(1) Mk. 9.33-37 with parallels in Mt. 18.1-5; Lk. 9.46-48, (2) Mk. 9.42 with parallels in Mt. 18.6; Lk. 17.1-2, (3) Mk. 10.13-16 with parallels in Mt. 19.13-15; Lk. 18.15-17, (4) Lk. 10.21-22 with parallel in Mt. 11.25-27.

Now Jesus puts a child in the midst and tells his hearers that they must accept the kingdom as a little child. Again children are brought to him. He caresses them—Luke uses his word βρέφη, babes in arms, but in the end like the other evangelists reverts to the more general word παῖδια—and rebukes those who would prevent it,² and says "of such (τοιούτων) is the kingdom of God (heaven)."

Though there is ambiguity, e.g. between receiving children and receiving the kingdom (as a child does?) and between the unimportance of the μικροί and the accessibility to divine revelation of the babes (νήπιοι) as compared with men who are wise and prudent (σόφοι καὶ συνετοί), the favorable verdict on children is evident in the synoptic material, in spite of one illustration of their quarrelsomeness, in the parable of the children opposing each other in their contrary desires to play wedding or to play funeral (Mt. 11.16ff.; Lk. 7.31ff.).

Even if we accept the generally favorable verdict of the synoptic gospels, agreeing as it does with the attitude of much of antiquity,

¹ See the recent extended and comprehensive discussion, S. Légasse, *Jésus et l'Enfant : "Enfants," "Petits," et "Simples" dans la Tradition Synoptique* (Paris, 1969).

² The connection of preventing (κωλύω) with baptism may be echoed here (cf. Acts 8.36; 10.47; 11.17), even though infant baptism would be anachronistic.

and of one aspect of human experience, the praiseworthy qualities of childhood implied are not as clear as the early Christian commentators assumed. For us there are many alternatives.¹ And since there is no real hint in the text of the gospels, we can only translate them in the simple way they are written, uncommitted to any explanation.

We may note that in using Mark the author of Matthew is interpreting the passages. Instead of the phrase "receive the Kingdom of God as a child," which in itself permits "child" to be either subject or object, he writes "unless you turn (στράφητε) and become as children, and whoever does not humble himself (ταπεινώσει)." This editorial treatment suggests that the ambiguity of the passage was early felt to need correction.

Perhaps we may find warning and instruction in the evidence also from two later gospels of the application of this motif. Each of them adjusts the older concept of Jesus' praise of childhood to the evangelist's own special theological approach.

1. The Gospel of John apparently uses this inherited motif in the discourse with Nicodemus (3.1ff.). Undoubtedly other factors have entered in, but the simple application of the characteristic dualism of this author is made in the figure of a birth again or from above or of the spirit, parallel to the natural fleshly birth from a mother's womb. The literal repetition is met, as usual in John, with incredulity. But the point is reiterated. Hence all the qualities of the new life of Christianity are associated with the experience, and equated with this second childhood.

2. In the Gospel of Thomas the praise of children follows in part the synoptic precedent. But the feature of childhood that is important for entering the kingdom is for this writer and perhaps for a wider gnostic Christian circle the absence of sexuality.² This is expressed in various ways, not always obvious to the modern reader. But the identity of male and female, the becoming one, the stripping of one's clothes and having no sense of shame are a far cry from the simple words on children in the earlier gospels. "One can only infer," writes Professor Kee, "that the synoptic themes have been placed by the Gospel of Thomas in service of a viewpoint that is anthropologically,

¹ A very attractive selection from possibly applicable traits of childhood is "curiosity." See H.C. Reed, "Religious Curiosity," *Presbyterian Life*, 23 (1970), 14-16.

² See H.C. Kee, "'Becoming a Child' in the Gospel of Thomas," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 82 (1963), 307-314.

eschatologically and theologically alien to the N.T.” As translators or interpreters of the Bible, we do well to realize by this token the pitfalls of our occupation.

THE TEXT OF MATTHEW 1.16

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In view of Professor Wikgren's well-known interest and competence in textual criticism as well as in the history of early Christian thought, it seemed not inappropriate in a contribution to a Festschrift in his honor to consider three patristic witnesses which have been thought to support an aberrant form of the text of Mt. 1.16. The most important of these is the Greek *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*; the other two are relatively late Syriac and Arabic witnesses.

I

At the beginning of the twentieth century F.C. Conybeare argued on the basis of evidence derived from a newly edited patristic document, the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*,¹ that the original text of Mt. 1.16 in all probability read, "and Jacob begot Joseph, and Joseph begot Jesus who is called Christ".² His argument persuaded P.W. Schmiedel³ as well as Hermann von Soden, who printed in his edition of the New Testament (1913) as the text of Mt. 1.16, Ἰωσήφ δὲ, ᾧ ἐμνηστεύθη παρθένος Μαριάμ, ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν. In the same year, James Moffatt gave wide currency to this reading inasmuch as he adopted von Soden's edition of the Greek New Testament as the basis for his modern English translation (1913; revised, 1934). Although it is now more than two-thirds of a century since Conybeare edited the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, scholars have given the document very little attention;⁴ in fact, no translation of the *Dialogue*

¹ *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, ed. F.C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898).

² F.C. Conybeare, "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels", *Hibbert Journal*, 1 (1902-03), 96-113 (on Mt. 1.16, see pp. 96-102).

³ Cf. P.W. Schmiedel, "Mary", *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1902), III, cols. 2961f., and "Die Geburt Jesu nach Mt. 1.16", *Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift*, 31 (1914), 31 (1914), 69-82; 32 (1915), 16-31.

⁴ A. Lukyn Williams devotes a chapter to it in his book, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), and B.P.W.S. Hunt read a paper on it at the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1963, later published in *Studia Patristica*, Vol. VIII,

appears to have been published in any language. Since Hort's well-known dictum, "Knowledge of documents should precede final judgment of readings", is as applicable to patristic evidence as to manuscripts of the text of the New Testament, it is incumbent upon the textual scholar to look into the characteristics and credentials of this interesting treatise.

Conybeare's edition of the *Dialogue* rests on the basis of one twelfth century manuscript (Vatican Codd. Graeci Pii PP. II, no. 47). Since in several places the manuscript is undecipherable because of damage, it is gratifying that subsequently E.J. Goodspeed identified two other copies of the *Dialogue*, one of the thirteenth-century at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Coislin 299) and the other of the fifteenth-century at the Escorial (designated Ω III.7; catalogue No. 536).¹ Goodspeed collated the former in its entirety against Conybeare's edition, and from the latter supplied several dozen variant readings, with the expectation of subsequently publishing its textual evidence complete — an expectation that unfortunately was never realized.

In the two earlier manuscripts the title of the treatise is "A Dialogue of a Christian and a Jew, whose names, respectively, were Timothy and Aquila, which took place in Alexandria in the days of Cyril, the most holy archbishop of Alexandria". The title in the Escorial manuscript is simply "A Discussion (*Ἀμφιβολία*) of a Christian named Timothy with a Hebrew philosopher named Aquila".

The date of the composition of the *Dialogue*, though disputed,²

Part 2, ed. F.L. Cross (Berlin, 1966), pp. 70-75. One would have expected the *Dialogue* would have claimed more attention than it does in Vincent Taylor's *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth* (Oxford, 1920), who makes almost casual reference to it on pp. 105f. Surprisingly enough J. Gresham Machen, in his otherwise comprehensive monograph, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1932), makes no mention of the *Dialogue* at all.

¹ "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: Two Unpublished Manuscripts", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 24 (1905), 58-78. Conybeare states in his article "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications", p. 101, "Mr. [F.C.] Badham collated for me another copy [of the *Dialogue*] in the Paris library, and Mr. Rendel Harris one at Messina. The Paris copy has the same text [of reading *a*, mentioned below] as the Vatican; but in the Messina MS. this part of the dialogue has been doctored, and not even the Jew is allowed to quote any but the *textus receptus* of Matthew 1.16".

² According to Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 68, except for the title and the epilogue the bulk of the *Dialogue* (minus several trinitarian references of later date) was composed about A.D. 200. According to Edgar Hennecke, however, the hypothesis of an original form of the *Dialogue* that lacked trinitarian references (proposed originally by Conybeare, pp. xlv and liii) is as groundless as is the supposition that both dialogues go back to

appears from various internal considerations to fall within the fifth century. Not only was Cyril ruling the church of Alexandria from A.D. 412 to 444, but certain telltale doctrinal and textual features point to such a period. Thus the statement, "Know therefore, O Jew, that the divine Scriptures did not conceal the consubstantiality (τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα) of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (fol. 107r) would not have been made before the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325. As concerns the stage of development of the New Testament canon, the author states that the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, an unspecified number of the Catholic Epistles, and fourteen Epistles of Paul circulated and were regarded as authoritative (fol. 77v). Specific reference by name is made to the Testament of Solomon (fol. 83r), a late pseudepigraphon which McCown, followed by Preisendanz and Denis, dates in the early part of the third Christian century.¹ The use of Ezek. 44.2 as a proof text of the perpetual virginity of Mary (fol. 96v, "For Ezekiel clearly speaks thus : '... And the Lord said to me, This gate will never be opened, nor will anyone enter or leave through it, because the Lord Almighty, he will enter through it, and the gate will be sealed forever' ") became popular in the latter part of the fourth century (the text is used thus by Ambrose in the West and by Amphilochius, Proclus, and Hesychius of Jerusalem in the East). In view of these and other similar features, it appears that the *Dialogue* belongs to the fifth century.

When one inquires concerning the author's habits of quoting scriptural passages, one finds a wide range of degrees of faithfulness. Not a few quotations from the Old Testament are so free as to verge on the border of paraphrase.² Several times the author weaves together passages from the Synoptic Gospels in the manner of Tatian, though the Diatessaron itself does not seem to be used. Here and there extracanonical details are incorporated : e.g., the "thirsting" of Jesus at

a common *Grundschrift* (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 24 [1899], 567). Harnack likewise regarded the supposition of an earlier *Vorlage* to be erroneous (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, II, *Chronologie*, 2. Aufl. [Leipzig, 1904], p. 198, Anm. 4).

¹ Chester C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 108; Karl Preisendanz, "Salomo", Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie, Suppl.*, VIII (1956), col. 689; Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1970), p. 67.

² Compare the passage cited above from Ezek. 44.2; for others passages see G. Kuhn, "Untersuchungen über die richtige Textgestalt von Matthäus 1.16", *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 34 (1923), 362-85, esp. 365f.

of the Christian. Considered in reverse order, the third reference in the *Dialogue* (form *c*) is a loose quotation of the commonly received text (that is, (1) above), except that *μνηστευσάμενον* stands in place of *ἄνδρα*. It reads *Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* ("and Jacob begot Joseph, who was betrothed to Mary, from whom was born the Christ, the Son of God").

The second reference to Mt. 1.16 (form *b*) stands at the close of a rapid recapitulation of the genealogy of Jesus; it reads *Ἰακώβ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαρία· ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός* ("and Jacob [begot] Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary, from whom was born Jesus who is called Christ"). This again, except for *μνηστευθεῖσα*, represents essentially the commonly received text.

In order to appreciate the first reference to Mt. 1.16 in the *Dialogue* (form *a*), it will be necessary to consider the context. In the preceding section the conversation turns to the subject of the incarnation and the birth of Jesus. This conversation continues as follows :

The Jew said, "How was he begotten? Tell me also his generations".

The Christian said, "Your own lips have declared that have you read both Old and New Covenant, and do you not know this?"

The Jew said, "There is indeed a genealogy in the Old [Testament]: and in the New there is one in the gospel according to Matthew, and it runs thus :

Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας· ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησιν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας."

In this passage the reader is struck by a very curious repetition, so that virtually the same statement seems to be made twice. In attempting to find an explanation for the repetition, some have suggested that the author puts into the mouth of the Jew a double quotation of Mt. 1.16, and that each half of the quotation was to be found in a Greek manuscript of Matthew.¹ There is, however, not the slightest hint that the author had available two such manuscripts, or that, if he had, he would have been interested to reproduce them.

On the contrary, the repetitive feature of the passage is best accounted for as arising from the effort of the author to represent that the Jew's argument grows out of an interpretation which he extracts from the closing words of the genealogy itself — words which (in reading (1))

¹ E.g., Schmiedel in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, col. 2962.

do not in fact exclude the view that Jesus was in a physical sense the son of Joseph. The meaning of the passage, therefore, is as follows :

The Jew said, "[The genealogy in Matthew] runs thus : 'Jacob begot Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born (*ἐγεννήθη*) Jesus who is called Christ'; and [so] Joseph begot (*ἐγέννησεν*) Jesus who is called Christ, concerning whom we are talking — it says he begot [him] of Mary".

By way of summary, it can be said that of the three times that the *Dialogue* refers to Mt. 1.16, two of them (namely *a* and *c*) essentially reproduce the commonly received text (reading (1) above), and one (namely *b*) is a condensation of the same commonly received text. In the case of the quotation in (*a*), the author represents the Jew as extracting from it a meaning that supports his position by altering the passive *ἐγεννήθη* to the active *ἐγέννησεν*. The *Dialogue*, therefore, offers no evidence that its author knew of a copy of the Gospel according to Matthew which read "Joseph begot Jesus".

II

Another patristic witness that has been thought to support the reading of Mt. 1.16 in the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript (reading (3) above) is the twelfth century Jacobite ecclesiastic, Dionysius Barsalibi, bishop of Amida. Hermann von Soden, for example, cites in his apparatus for Mt. 1.16 the name of Barsalibi as an unequivocal attestation for reading (3), entirely parallel with that of the Sinaitic Syriac. The evidence, however, is far from being so clear-cut, as the following account of the principal points will make obvious.¹

In his Commentary on the Gospels Barsalibi discusses at some length the syntactical difference between the ways in which the Greek and Syriac languages express "from whom" in Mt. 1.16, but both the Greek and the Syriac, he declares, explicitly attest that Jesus was born of Mary and not from Joseph.² His comment, which follows the citation of verse 16, is as follows : "*Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, from whom (ܡܪܝܡ) was born Jesus who is called the Messiah. But this from whom (ܡܪܝܡ) — if it had not been supplied with*

¹ The following paragraphs concerning Mt. 1.16 are an expanded form of the present writer's discussion of the passage in his *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, 1973).

² Dionysius bar Salibi, *Commentarii in Evangelia*, ed. Sedláček and Chabot in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Series Secunda, Tom. CLVIII (Paris, 1906), p. 46, lines 23ff. (of the Syriac text), and p. 35, lines 30ff. (of the Latin translation).

a point [above ܡ] one might suppose that the Messiah was begotten of Joseph. But the point above the word ܡܪܝܡ shows that he was born of the Virgin and not of Joseph. Furthermore, according to the meaning of the Greek text it is not so written,¹ but *Joseph the husband* ܡܪܝܡ (ܡܪܝܡ) of Mary (ܡܪܝܡ) from that one (fem.) [from]² whom Jesus was born. Thus, if instead of [the letter] *yud* (ܝ) of [the word] *hi* (ܝܡ) Matthew had written *waw* (ܘ), one might indeed have supposed that the Messiah was begotten of Joseph. But inasmuch as he wrote ܡܪܝܡ [= that one (fem.)], and not ܡܪܡ [= that one (masc.)], he made it known that he was born of the Virgin and not of Joseph". Throughout Barsalibi's comment there is no indication that he knew any textual variant in the voice of the verb or in its subject, or, indeed in the pronoun.

The critical point, which von Soden interprets as clear-cut evidence supporting the reading of the Sinaitic Syriac, concerns Barsalibi's comment on Mt. 1.18. This reads as follows : ³ "Here the manner of his [Jesus'] corporeal birth [the evangelist] teaches. When therefore you hear [the word] 'husband' (ܡܪܝܡ), ⁴ do not think that he was born according to the law of nature — he who determines the law of nature. And when it comes to Joseph ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܡ and therefore afterwards it says, 'Now the birth of Jesus the Messiah was thus', that is, not as the rest of men was he born, but a new thing is the manner of his birth, and higher than the nature of those who are born". The words cited in Syriac can be translated either (a) "it says, 'Who begot the Messiah'", or (b) "it says that he begot the Messiah". According to rendering (a), Barsalibi appears to be quoting from some manuscripts or author, not identified here or elsewhere, whose text of Mt. 1.16 paralleled the reading of the Sinaitic Syriac. On the other hand, according to rendering (b), Barsalibi is making his

¹ Barsalibi means that the difference in gender in Greek does not depend, as it does in Syriac, upon the presence or absence of a diacritical point.

² Here Barsalibi, as was pointed out by W.P. Armstrong, Jr. in *Princeton Theological Review*, 13 (1915), 466, n. 9, is attempting to reproduce the explicitness of the distinction in Greek by the resolution of ܡܪܝܡ into its constituent elements and by the substitution of the demonstrative pronoun (in which the feminine differs from the masculine in radical structure) for the personal suffix of the Syriac preposition, where the difference of gender depends upon the presence or absence of the diacritical point.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70, lines 9ff. (of the Syriac text), and p. 53, lines 3ff. (of the Latin translation).

⁴ The use here of the word ܡܪܝܡ, rather than ܡܪܡ, shows that Barsalibi has in mind the Peshitta text of 1.19, which in this respect agrees with syrs against syrc.

own summary exposition of Matthew's account of Joseph's relation to the Messiah. In either case, however, it is obvious that so far as Barsalibi is concerned he intends his quotation (if it be a quotation) or his summary exposition to be perfectly in accord with his earlier discussion of ver. 16 and his immediately following declaration that Jesus' birth was unique. In other words, it appears that Barsalibi fully accepted the Peshitta text of ver. 16 (i.e. the reading (1) above).

III

A third witness that has been thought to support the reading of the Sinaitic Syriac is one manuscript of the Arabic Diatessaron. Although Theodoret,¹ corroborated by 'Isā ibn 'Alī,² explicitly states that Tatian did not utilize the Matthean and Lukan genealogies in his Diatessaron, the mediaeval Arabic Diatessaron does contain them (ms. A includes the Matthean genealogy after I,81, and the Lukan genealogy after IV,29; mss. B and E give them as an appendix after the close of the Diatessaron). At Matt. 1.16 ms. A, which dates from the twelfth century, reads يعقوب ولد يوسف رجل مريم الذي منها المسيح ولد يسوع المسيح "Jacob begot Joseph, the husband of Mary, who [masc]. of her begot Jesus the Messiah".³ (The other two manuscripts employ the correct feminine form, التي).

That ms. A should in its special reading somehow reflect the text of a Greek manuscript of Mt. 1.16 is, as Burkitt declares,⁴ most unlikely. On the contrary, it is altogether probable that the use of the masculine الذي is either a blunder of a careless copyist or the dialectical usage of the masculine relative for the feminine.⁵ If then the relative is corrected, *who of her* will become *of whom* (fem.), and the second instance of the verb ولد will be construed as a passive (*was born*), agreeing throughout with the reading of the Peshitta version.

There appears to be, therefore, no substantial evidence to add in

¹ Theodoret *Haer. fab. comp.* 1.20 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXIII, col. 372A).

² 'Isā ibn 'Alī's Syro-Arabic Lexicon in R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, I (Oxford, 1879), cols. 869f.

³ A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien* (Beyrouth, 1935), p. 532.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 265.

⁵ So Marmarji, *op. cit.*, p. 533 note: "Cela doit être ou bien une faute de copiste, ou bien un emploi dialectal. Car, en arabe vulgaire, on dit الذي pour le relatif masculin et féminin, à la fois".

support of the singular reading of the Sinaitic Syriac (reading (3) above).

IV

What now are the relative merits of the three principal readings?

The external evidence in support of (1) is extremely good : it is read by p¹ (3rd century) and all known Greek uncial manuscripts except Θ , and by all other manuscripts and versions except the limited number that support (2) and (3). Transcriptional probabilities suggest that reading (2) arose (perhaps at Caesarea) because the expression "the husband of Mary" was thought to be misleading in a genealogical context. Lest the hasty reader assume that Jesus was the physical son of Mary and her husband Joseph, the text was altered to bring it into conformity with ver. 18 where the verb *μνηστεύεσθαι* is used to describe the relationship of Mary to Joseph. On the other hand, if reading (2) be supposed to be original, it is exceedingly difficult to imagine why any scribe would have substituted reading (1) for such a clear and unambiguous declaration of the virginity of Mary.

In conclusion it can be stated that there is no evidence that reading (3) ever existed in a Greek manuscript of the First Gospel. It arose either as a paraphrase of reading (2) — this was Burkitt's view — or as a purely mechanical imitation of the preceding pattern in the genealogy. Since every name in the genealogy up to Joseph is written twice in succession, it may be that the scribe of the Sinaitic Syriac (or an ancestor of the manuscript) carelessly followed the stereotyped pattern of verses 2-15, and in ver. 16, having made the initial mistake of repeating the name "Joseph", went on to produce reading (3).

CAPITALIZATION IN ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

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It is a privilege to have a small part in a tribute to my friend Allen Wikgren, who for many years has been internationally recognized for thorough and competent scholarship in the New Testament and related fields. Among his noteworthy contributions to such scholarship has been his work, since 1952, as a member of the Standard Bible Committee, and his highly competent part in the editing, with Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, and Bruce M. Metzger, of *The Greek New Testament*, first published in 1966.

As a modest part in this tribute to Professor Wikgren I wish to direct attention briefly to the subject of capitalization in recent English translations of the Bible, and specifically to capitalization in the Gospel of Matthew.

We have seen in recent years a notable series of new English translations of the Bible. The King James Version (KJV) still exercises a remarkable influence both in the Church and among students of English literature. Solid and wide-spread influence, however, has deservedly been exercised by the Revised Standard Version (RSV), first published in complete form, including the Apocrypha, in 1957.

Justifiably praised for its scholarship and literary quality is the New English Bible (NEB), published in complete form, including the Apocrypha, in 1970.

Noteworthy developments in Roman Catholic scholarship, especially since 1943, have made possible two outstanding translations made essentially from the original languages : the Jerusalem Bible (JB), whose English form dates from 1966, and the New American Bible (NAB), published in 1970.

It was in comparing these translations with one another that differences in capitalization came to my attention and seemed worthy of brief but serious attention.

Two facts must be kept in mind if we are to derive any real profit from the study of such differences in capitalization. One is that the earliest manuscripts of the Biblical books have no such system of

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capitalization or spacing between words as we use. In the early copies, and presumably in the original manuscripts of the Biblical books, no systematic difference was made between the way of writing the opening letter of a word or sentence and the way of writing the remaining letters of that word or sentence.

The result is that the differences of emphasis and interpretation which our systematic capitalization introduces must be ascribed to the interpretation of the passage concerned by later copyists and exegetes of the original writing.

The second fact to keep in mind is that in later generations, when using a language which, as is the case with English, does use capitalization, it is practically inevitable that the copying and printing of the Biblical material will make use of capitalization. It is a way of making and presenting an interpretation of the statements made and recorded in the document copied.

Thus capitalization is interpretation and must be evaluated as such. It is the interpreter's way of making and recording aspects of his understanding of the document he is studying or copying.

There are of course stern limits to the amount of interpretation which capitalization can incorporate into the copy of the material concerned. But it cannot be ignored that capitalization does embody and present aspects of interpretation of what is handed on.

If then a translation of the Bible or portions of the Bible is presented in our day to interested readers, the use of capitalization as an interpretive help is practically inevitable and is to be welcomed.

Of what is the capitalized word or words an interpretation? This question may seem superfluous. It may seem axiomatic—and it should be—that the capitalization presents an interpretation not of any presumed literary sources of a writing but of the actual Biblical writing with which we are dealing.

We now present examples of the way in which passages in the English translation of the Gospel of Matthew use capitalization to bring out meaning. Scripture references refer to the Gospel of Matthew.

1. Place names which include two major words. In 26.30 the KJV speaks of "the mount of Olives." The RSV, JB, NEB, and NAB are surely correct in capitalizing both major words of the geographical reference; we should read : "the Mount of Olives."

In 27.33 the KJV reads "a place of a skull." This is unsatisfactory; a definite place is in mind; it is, as the RSV puts it, "the place of a

skull," or as the JB reads, "the place of the skull." However, since a definite place known by a place name is in mind, we could give the name as "Skull Place," as the NAB does. If we follow the wording of the name given in the NEB, "Place of a skull", we should capitalize both major words of the name and read the name as "Place of a Skull." These words constitute a unity; they combine to form the place name.

2. Words capitalized for emphasis. In 6.24 the KJV and RSV speak of "mammon." This is a word which means "property," "money." The NEB translates and capitalizes the word as "Money," while the JB and NAB translate it "money," but do not capitalize it. The capitalization, though not necessary, sharpens the conflict between loyalty to God and insatiable desire for possessions.

3. The Gospel of Matthew in 5.17; 7.12; 22.40 (note also 11.13) speaks of the law and the prophets as authoritative and gives a summary of their content. In these passages the NEB has a capital L in referring to the Jewish Law but a lower case p in the word "prophets."

This is not satisfactory. The reference in the word "Law" is to the Pentateuch as Scripture. The reference in the word "Prophets" is not to the Old Testament prophets as active persons on the stage of history but to the prophetic books, which by the time of Jesus were considered to be authoritative Scripture by Jesus as well as by his critics the Pharisees. If a capital L is used for the authoritative Law, a capital P should be used in such mentions of the authoritative prophetic writings.

4. A special interest attaches to the way in which the Gospel of Matthew speaks of the Kingdom. The other Gospels speak of "the Kingdom of God," which occurs thirteen times in the Gospel of Mark, thirty-two times in the Gospel of Luke, and twice in the Gospel of John. None of the other three Gospels ever uses the phrase "the Kingdom of Heaven." The Gospel of Matthew, however, uses "the Kingdom of God" only four times; its favorite way of referring to the Kingdom is to call it, as it does thirty-two times, "the Kingdom of Heaven."

Two questions arise here concerning capitalization. In the first place, should we capitalize the K in the word "Kingdom"? In general, the recently published translations of the Bible do not do so. But when it is considered that this is the divinely established eternal

reign of God that is meant, it is fully reasonable to capitalize the K in this word "Kingdom."

In the second place, should we capitalize the H in the word "Heaven"? The answer becomes clear once we note how this word is used here. It is used out of reverence, to avoid too frequent and familiar a use of the word God.

This use of the word "Heaven" to refer to God is known to us from the apocryphal book First Maccabees, which was written about 100 B.C. Though First Maccabees is a highly religious book, it never uses the word God. When its author wants to refer to God, he uses the word "Heaven" instead of "God". See I Maccabees 3.18-19 : "in the sight of Heaven . . strength comes from Heaven"; 4.10 : "let us cry to Heaven"; 4.24 : "they sang hymns and praises to Heaven"; 4.55 : "all the people . . . blessed Heaven."

These passages enable us to say with confidence that the Gospel of Matthew uses "Heaven" as a surrogate for the word "God". "The Kingdom of Heaven" thus means "the Kingdom of God," and as a reference to God the word "Heaven" must be capitalized. And the reference to God's unique reign is most clearly and effectively expressed by using a capital K in the phrase "Kingdom of Heaven."

5. Crucial for any system of capitalization in the Gospel of Matthew is respect for the way in which traditional titles are used of Jesus. The title "King of the Jews" occurs four times in this Gospel. Only in the KJV is a capital K used in 2.2. The RSV uses the capital K in the other three passages (27.11, 29, 37). The NEB uses the lower case k in 2.2, 27.11, 37 and the capital K in 27.29. The JB uses a capital K in 27.37 and a lower case k in the other three passages. The NAB puts 2.2; 27.11, 29 in lower case k, but in 27.37, it makes the official charge on which Pilate had to act if he was to convict and condemn Jesus stand out by putting it in capital letters : "THIS IS JESUS, KING OF THE JEWS." This emphasis is obtained in the KJV by printing the accusation in caps and small caps.

To the author of the Gospel of Matthew the kingship of Jesus was no issue of minor importance. Jesus to him was the central figure of all history. When this author referred to Jesus and his kingship he was dealing with what to him was the key issue of history and faith. Whether a speaker realized it or not, when he took his position toward Jesus he was confronted with the crucial choice of his religious life and political stance. To reflect that fact the references to Jesus as King should all be written with a capital K.

The Magi, in the view of the author of the Gospel of Matthew, were not looking for an ordinary king, but for a unique and unparalleled ruler. As we have said above, capitalization should represent the theology and world view of the Gospel author. This principle leads to a capital K in the references to Jesus as "the King of the Jews."

6. Deeply related to this significant meaning of the phrase "King of the Jews" is the view reflected in the related title "Son of David." It was a title which could also be used, with less significant force, of Joseph of Nazareth (1.20). But this legal line of descent is but a small part of its reference. There was in the life of the people of Israel a line of hope which moved toward and focused on Jesus as the fulfilment of the Messianic hopes which Israel cherished and which the Christian Church found fulfilled in the coming and work of Jesus. This Messianic reference comes to expression in 9.27 : "Have mercy on us, Son of David"; 12.23 : "Can this be the Son of David?"; 15.22 : "Have mercy on me, O Lord, Son of David"; 20.30, 31 : "Have mercy on us, Son of David!"; 21.9, 15 : Hosanna to the Son of David!" Such words and attitudes obviously call for a capital S in the expression "Son of David."

7. The Son of God. This phrase we ordinarily find used in the Gospel of Matthew to refer to Jesus Christ. However, one passage in particular raises a question. It is found in 27.54. The Greek can be translated there as "a son of God," in which case the lower case obviously is intended to reflect the polytheistic outlook of Pilate's soldiers, who are supposed to be speaking. The JB and NEB have this reading, as does the RSV in a footnote. But the KJV and the NAB, and the RSV in the text, say "the Son of God." Either translation is possible etc. Either translation is possible linguistically. Which should we prefer?

This question can be put another way. Which rendering do we think represents the mental outlook and religious concern of the author of the Gospel of Matthew? To this question there can be but one answer. The author of Matthew had no interest in claiming for Jesus a rank and significance merely equal to that of other spiritual figures known from the pagan world. To him Jesus was the unique and the one truly divine figure of world history. He understands that the soldiers were convinced that Jesus was God's Son in a unique and incomparable way. The English translation should reflect that attitude as shared even by pagan Roman soldiers.

8. The Son of Man. Two things immediately demand attention

when we ask about the use of this phrase in the Bible. One is that it occurs ninety-two times in the Book of Ezekiel, but we find no clear connection between Ezekiel's use of the phrase, to refer to a frail human being used by God as his spokesman, and the New Testament use of the phrase to refer to Jesus' human lot, suffering, and glory. The Book of Ezekiel really has no clear and full parallel to the Gospel of Matthew's portrait of Jesus as God's spokesman, redemptive sufferer, and ultimately glorified agent of the divine purpose and action.

The second noteworthy fact about the use of this phrase "Son of Man" is the peculiar use of this title in the New Testament. It is used in all four Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew has it thirty-one times, the Gospel of Mark fourteen times, the Gospel of Luke twenty-six times, and the Gospel of John thirteen times. It is almost never used in the rest of the New Testament (but see Acts 7.56; Revelation 1.13; 14.14). The reluctance to use the title in the Apostolic Age after the death and resurrection of Jesus is underlined by the fact that the expression occurs twenty-six times in the Gospel of Luke, while the Book of Acts, by the same author, contains only one use of the phrase (in 7.56).

Our concern here is simply with the capitalization which should be used in writing or printing the phrase. There are two possible answers to this problem. One is to write "the Son of man". This is what we find in the KJV and the RSV. The objection to this pattern is that it does not mark off the title clearly. The title is not "the Son" but "the Son of Man." The capital M in Man is necessary to make the reader feel "the Son of Man" as a clear word cluster and thought unit.

This brief study of capitalization in the Gospel of Matthew can make no claim to completeness. Nor can it claim finality in the view it takes of individual passages or in the statement of principles or general conclusions. It is hoped, however, that the reader will agree that in our Biblical study capitalization is a legitimate tool and a useful aid.

THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT WITH A LIMITED CRITICAL APPARATUS: ITS NATURE AND USES

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Since all critical apparatuses suffer some limitation, a definition of the term is needed. The most comprehensive critical apparatus will be characterized by a sound—almost inevitable—limitation.

Sound limitation will omit (1) Scribal errors, including nonsense readings, misspellings, “the leaps of the eye” and the resulting omissions or dittographies; (2) Singular readings in the Greek manuscript tradition (versional or patristic agreement with one Greek witness is not enough); (3) Readings supported by only two Greek witnesses if the agreement can be plausibly explained as coincidence in careless error; (4) Results of an individual scribe’s habits—unless supported by a group whose kinship has been established. See, for example, Jn. 1.4, *εν αυτω* : omit *εν* P66 (after *γεγονεν*), cited by U2.¹ This variant should be omitted for two reasons : (a) it is the result of “the leap of the eye,” see (1) above; (b) the scribe of P66, not his archetype, has the habit of writing a syllable at a time, and frequently skips a syllable, or the article, or a short word. Thus P66 insignificantly omits the article in Jn. 1.15, *ο οπισω* (cited by U2 with Delta 1646*), and omits it significantly in 1.18 (cited by U2 K² N25² with Aleph* B C* L). (5) Harmonizations to immediate context. These are so widespread and so probable as coincidental agreement that they should be omitted, unless the supporters are members of the same group. For example, in P66 the addition of “who takes away the sin of the world” in Jn. 1.36 is such a harmonization to 1.29 (cited in N25 with little and scattered support); so also *ουτος* P66^c in 1.42 (cited in N25 with G fl)—cf. 1.41; also P66* in 1.49 add *αληθως* (N25 with 1241)—cf. 1.47.

Thus an ideal comprehensive apparatus will be subject to a handful

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¹ U2 = The United Bible Societies, *The Greek New Testament*, ed. K. Aland, M. Black, B.M. Metzger and A. Wikgren, 2nd ed. (1968).

² K = G.D. Kilpatrick’s Second Edition of Nestle, British & Foreign Bible Society (London, 1958). N = the 25th edition of Nestle.

of limitations. I have discussed these at length elsewhere.¹ In this discussion, I use the phrase "limited critical apparatus" to mean one which does not cite meaningful omissions, additions and substitutions with respect to the text given above it. Since *limited* is a relative term, one would expect the amount of limitation to vary widely from edition to edition. In this one will not be disappointed.

To have a fixed base from which to determine the amount of limitation, I have chosen Tischendorf's apparatus to his eighth edition (Ti 8), an apparatus which is generally available. Tischendorf limited his apparatus in two ways : (1) He omitted readings he deemed insignificant for the establishment of the original text or valueless for the writing of its history. These he restricted sharply to those I have listed above as "sound limitations : (1) Scribal errors". He included even some of these; e.g., misspellings of proper nouns. (2) He omitted some of the evidence for those readings which he cites. He does this by blanketing individual manuscripts under such labels as *al pauc*, *al mu*, *al plu*, *al pler*, *al 20*, *minusc vix mu*, *al omn*, *unc pler*, etc., etc. These blanket terms are most often used for the Greek minuscules.

What Tischendorf includes is a tremendous number of passages where variation exists (1) in the presence or absence of a word, (2) in the substitution of one word for another, and (3) in the order of words. Thus his apparatus may be used for comparative purposes as an example of an "unlimited" apparatus. *In the first chapter of John, Ti8 cites manuscript evidence for one hundred and seventy-eight passages.*² When I use the words "a limited critical apparatus," I mean an apparatus that cites manuscript evidence for a markedly smaller number of passages. Using this definition justifies calling N25 a limited apparatus. *In chapter one of John, N 25 cites manuscript evidence for fifty-nine passages.* This is one-third as many as in Ti8. So also Kilpatrick's apparatus (K) can be called limited. *In chapter one of John, K cites evidence for twenty-two passages.* This is about 12% of the number in Ti8. So also in the apparatus in Souter's first edition (S).³ *In chapter one of John, S cites evidence for fifteen passages.*

¹ See Chapter Eight, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits", in my *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools & Studies, Vol. IX (Leiden, 1969), pp. 106ff. See also in the same work the chapter on "Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings", pp. 96f.

² The exact number will vary with each tabulator's decision as to what constitutes one unit of variation.

³ Alexander Souter, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece : textui a retractatoribus Anglicis adhibito brevem adnotationem criticam subiecit* (Oxford, 1910).

This is about 8% of the number in Ti8. Likewise the apparatus in U2 is limited. *In the first chapter of John, U2 cites evidence for ten passages.*¹ This is about 5% of the amount in Ti8.

In the number of passages for which they cite evidence, these may fairly be called "limited" apparatuses. The extent of the contrast in the quantity of passages cited needs to be emphasized. At the extremes, the U2 apparatus has in the whole Gospel of John a total of only 158 passages cited; while Ti8 cites more than this in the first chapter alone. Thus when these editions speak of the comprehensive citation of evidence, they mean comprehensive in the uncomprehensive list of passages they cite.

The editors of these limited editions identify and justify the limitations in the apparatus. All four agree on the inclusion of readings essential for the establishment of the true text. Three of them (S K and N25) explicitly include readings which illuminate the history of the text. This illumination comes from citing "readings characteristic of the main types of text," as K says. But K's example reads "such as the Western Text," a text type whose existence as an identifiable group is denied by N25. (A denial with which I agree). N25 uses symbols for the H(esychian) type, and the K(oine) type, and the Caesarean group. All four use fam 1 and fam 13.

The three editions that speak of illuminating the history of the text (N25 K S) continue the use of Ti8's blanket labels (al pc pler omn etc.) with little change. For major groups, U2 uses only Byz (for the majority of Byzantine mss.) and Byz^{pt} (for a part of the Byzantine ms tradition), and Lect (for the majority of lectionaries).

Aside from N25, each edition has an individual preference. S has worked carefully through versions and fathers, and special interest in them not only corrects and extends their attestation but also influences the choice of variants to be included. K shares this interest, but included also "other readings of special interest." These "other readings" often have only versional support, only Latin support, and not a lot of that. K has argued elsewhere for the inclusion of a reading even if it occurs only in a single manuscript, and that a manuscript of one of the versions. Tischendorf's repudiation of the singular reading is doubly valid here. U2's special interest led to a general restriction "to readings meaningful for translators." This must rest

¹ Throughout this study I have omitted the material cited for punctuation in Jn. 1.3-4.

primarily upon the evaluation of readings rather than upon the evaluation of attestation.

Stop for a minute to consider the role of "text types" in these editions. In two of them, K and S, the "Western" text type (Delta) and its witnesses are given the spotlight. As we have seen, N25 denies the existence of such a type, and U2 is ambiguous since it cites neither Delta nor Beta as types. The consensus of scholarly judgment today favors N25 and U2 over K and S in the treatment of the Delta text and its witnesses. There is no such identifiable entity,¹ and its distinctive readings are secondary in quality and time.

I suggest that the following statements explain all aspects of the Delta manuscripts.

1. The production of Delta manuscripts was uncontrolled; i.e., not controlled by either a scholarly (contrast the Beta type) or an ecclesiastical tradition and concern (contrast the Alpha type).

2. The production of Delta manuscripts was dominated by pious, evangelistic concerns, concerns which are indifferent to verbal accuracy and are intense about "the essential message."

3. Wherever this third type of dominant concern existed, agreements in wording arose independently, by coincidence. Ancient missionary translations and homiletically oriented scribes are the ancient counterparts of today's pulpit evangelists and "thought for thought" translators, who do not bother to identify the Greek text they are translating. The number of coincidental agreements produced cannot be overestimated, and deserves more serious and extensive study than has yet been given to it.

4. The agreements of Delta manuscripts in some readings with the Alpha type is due to the presence in the Alpha editors of some of the pious interests of the Delta producers. But the Alpha editors wanted all Christians to have the same wording in their Bibles. The makers of Delta manuscripts (as of most translations) could not care less. Hence the differences between Alpha and Delta manuscripts.

5. The agreements of Delta manuscripts in some readings with the Beta type springs from the high agreement of Beta with the original. This original, we sometimes forget, was also the base from which the Delta manuscripts started.

¹ Larry W. Hurtado has demonstrated this most recently with reference to the Caesareans in a paper read at the 1971 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature entitled "Text-critical Methodology and the Caesarean Text".

6. The partial clusters of Delta manuscripts are the result of localized wildness, provincial and local developments influencing one another. What Streeter said about local texts is valid only for Delta manuscripts.

The next step forward in the organization of our knowledge of New Testament manuscripts awaits a thorough, critical examination of the above theses. The area where the most remains to be done is that of coincidental agreement among Delta witnesses. We shall all be indebted to the man who explores this area. Such an exploration will cleanse the apparatus of many a meaningless item, especially those supported by ancient translations.

In Jn. 1.6 N25 text reads "name to-him John"; the apparatus reads : add "was" Aleph* D* W (latt.). It is interesting that Weymouth and RSV add "was"; Phillips says, "a man called John." Is the evidence of Old Latin witnesses any more significant? Or take Mk. 1.10 where the text reads "split open," and the apparatuses read "opened" with D latt sy pal georg sa and the RSV and Matthew.

I have noted elsewhere that fifteen of the *singular* readings of P66 (a careless scribe) are supported by RSV, whose translators had no access to P66. Imagine the excitement of editors if RSV were Old Latin. Phillips has no trace of "and" in Jn. 1.16 where K cites it vg pt. So?

N25 leans upon the great editions of the 19th and 20th centuries. While it warns against the assumption that everything is ever cited (p. 69*) and the assumption that anything is always cited (p. 70*), yet its comprehensive use of the great editions and of symbols for major groups makes it more valuable than K S and U2.

But N25 joins K and U2 in the over-citation of new important witnesses. The disproportionate frequency with which such mss. as W, P66 and P75 are cited misrepresents their status in relation to other witnesses which are more frugally cited. To carry this to the extreme of citing nonsense readings and a scribe's peculiarities (as they do) is ridiculous. Those students who wish to know P66, for example, in detail must go in any event to some other source than even the best of these limited apparatuses.

In two of these editions, S and U2, the tendency to over-comprehensiveness shows up also in the lists of manuscript sources. Scores and scores of mss. are listed that are seldom or never cited as individuals. Limited citation of individual minuscule mss., for example, is the hallmark of these editions. S lists one hundred and nineteen minuscules that contain the gospels. In the first chapter of John,

S cites only eight minuscules; five of them only one time, fam 13 twice, ms 33 three times, and fam 1 five times. U2 claims to "cite systematically" thirty minuscules in the gospels, and to cite one hundred and twenty-one more minuscules "when they are of special significance for certain variants." In the first chapter of John, U2 cites only twenty-three of the thirty, none of the 121. The listing of over one hundred mss. compared with the number used cannot help but mislead the student. Is he to assume that the ones not cited are included in Byz? Could we not have some indication of why seven of the thirty are missing? U2 gives no exact indication of a manuscript's contents.

In U2 the tendency to be over-comprehensive in the citation of witnesses for a limited list of passages wastes space and time. This is true even in the case of the thirty minuscules that are systematically cited. Look at the ten passages cited in the first chapter of John. In four of the ten, all (twenty three) of the minuscules cited agree with each other and with Byz. In one, only one minuscule disagrees (the rest agree with Byz.). In three more, only two minuscules disagree (the rest agree with Byz). In only two of the ten is the disagreement of minuscules with minuscules significant enough to call for complete citation of the list. In only one of the ten passages does U2 use Byz^{pt}.

In the interest of economy, I suggest that in the four unanimous passages a symbol such as *omn* is all that needs to be added to Byz. In the four passages where one or two mss disagree, their numbers could be cited, with *rell* and Byz cited for the alternative reading. In only two of the ten passages would it be necessary to cite each individual minuscule. If the contents of the thirty were given in detail, the user of the apparatus would need no more than this to know which minuscule read which variant.

How is a limited apparatus to be used? Look carefully at its material and intention. (1) It supplies the variant readings for a limited set of passages. (2) For these, it supplies the external manuscript attestation—at least in part—so that the user can learn which witnesses support some variations from the text. The minimum intention must be to enable the user to evaluate the variant readings. This can be done through the use of two techniques: (1) Through a knowledge of the value of the supporting witnesses; (2) Through a judgment as to the relative value of the readings as readings—apart from their attestation.

The first of these techniques is not available to the user of a limited critical apparatus. The evaluation of individual mss. or groups of mss. requires a comprehensive citation of the external evidence, at least in sample passages. Without this, the character of the ms. or group cannot be established in contrast to other mss. or groups, and their inter-relationships cannot be established. While passages where multiple readings occur may *suggest* membership in a group, and this suggestion may be strengthened by agreement with the group in distinctive readings, it is still true that "members of a group must agree with one another in a large majority of the total amount of existent variant readings."¹ The validity of the previous statement has been provided by the work of Frederik Wisse and Paul R. McReynolds.² They created a sampling method for the location of mss. within groups which they named "The Claremont Profile Method." This method when applied to over 500 mss. demonstrated the need for the availability of the total amount of existing variant readings in sample sections of the text. In fact, they proved that exactly this total comparison is the essential element in the identification of groups and the establishment of membership within a group.

Without a knowledge of groups, the history of the text cannot be illuminated. Without a knowledge of the history of the text, the original reading cannot be established. The individual user of a limited apparatus cannot himself take the first of these steps, certainly not the second. In other words, these editions through their citation of manuscript witnesses do not make it possible for the reader to use the "external evidence of manuscripts" in judging variant readings.

The user of these editions can judge variant readings on the basis of the internal evidence of readings : intrinsic probability, and transcriptional probability. But for this he needs only the variant readings, not the manuscript attestation. In other words, he can decide which reading best fits the context, and which reading, if assumed to be original, best explains the origin of the other. Unfortunately these two criteria frequently clash in a head-on collision, because ancient

¹ Ernest C. Colwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 31f.; see also the discussion of grouping of mss., *passim*.

² Ernest Cadman Colwell with Irving Alan Sparks, Frederik Wisse, Paul R. McReynolds, "The International Greek New Testament Project : A Status Report", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 87 (1968), 192-197; Eldon J. Epp, "The Claremont Profile-Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts", *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark, Ph.D.*, ed. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs, *Studies and Documents*, Vol. XXIX (Salt Lake City, 1967), pp. 27-38.

scribes as well as modern editors often preferred the reading which best fits the context. Hort himself, and many scholars since, recognized this limitation in the significance of internal evidence of readings, and fell back on the appraisal of groups of manuscripts as a final resource.

But the user of at least some of the editions we are considering has a further resource. This is primarily the judgment of the editors themselves, reinforced by a knowledge of their theory and method. And this, in some cases, is weighty evidence indeed.

N25 states clearly in its introduction how its text was produced, and the reasons for the adoption of its method. This rests not only upon the scholarly ability of the editors of N25, but also upon the prior judgments of Hort, Tischendorf and B. Weiss. And these three were men who leaned heavily upon the external evidence of documents. Moreover they published cogent arguments for the methods they followed. Therefore the user of N25 can weigh the strengths and weaknesses of the methods involved and can rest upon the scholarly prestige of the editors involved.

In the text they print, two of the other editions stand explicitly on the same kind of textual base. K reprints the Nestle text from a 1902 edition, and Souter reproduces the text used by the English Revisers—substantially the Nestle type of text. K changed the Nestle text in eleven passages : Mk. 10.7; Jn. 7.8, 23; 13.37; Rom. 5.1; 14.19; I Cor. 15.49; Gal. 6.10; I Thess. 3.2; II Thess. 2.13; I Jn. 5.20. Except for the addition through harmonization to a parallel passage in Mk. 10.7, these are interchanges of omicron and omega, the article, etc. Five agree with the Alpha text type; four with “Western” witnesses. But the more significant agreement is with editions of Nestle that preceded K; ten of the eleven appear, for example, in N18, 1948. But it, like N25, disagrees on Mk. 10.7.

The remaining edition, U2, does not reprint the Nestle or any other text. It identifies the first stage of its work as making a comparison with the text and apparatus of several editions “on the basis of Westcott and Hort’s edition.” After a study of manuscript support (and of punctuation in modern translations), “the Greek text was established.”¹

The U2 text differs from that of Hort in more passages than those for which the apparatus presents evidence. In chapter one of John’s

¹ See preface, pp. v-vi.

Gospel, U2 differs from Westcott and Hort fourteen times. Only three of these are supplied with manuscript evidence. Six of the remaining eleven are itacistic spellings; four involve the presence or absence of the article; one encloses two words in square brackets which "are used to enclose words which are regarded as having dubious textual validity." Obviously the apparatus will not identify for the user the presence of variations from the basic text.

But U2 offers two additional helps to its readers. In the first place it ranks the confidence of its editors in the readings they have chosen in terms of the symbols A, B, C, or D. "A" signifies that the text is virtually certain; "B" some degree of doubt; "C" considerable degree of doubt "whether the text or the apparatus contains the superior reading;" while "D" shows a very high degree of doubt. Actually two other ranks are employed: single square brackets and double square brackets. As we have seen, the single square brackets enclose words of dubious textual validity. How much doubt (in terms of A B C D) is dubious? The editors clearly state that double square brackets enclose words which are not part of the original Greek New Testament, and they use them sparingly. For example, in the Gospel of John, they enclose only the pericope adulterae printed at the end of the Gospel. But should not the editors have related the single square brackets to the degrees of doubt reflected in A B C D? These brackets are used frequently. They appear fifty-seven times in the Gospel of John on ninety-three pages of text, i.e., on two out of three pages.

The predominance of C rankings has occasioned some criticism. To this the editors make the convincing response that many A and B items were not important for translators and that the greatest proportion of the text represents an A degree of certainty.

More unsettling to this reader is the extent of the changes made in the use of these labels between the first and second editions. These total forty-five changes in the ratings of A, B, C and D, and eleven alterations involving brackets. This is a sizable change. Did the addition of a new member to the editorial board affect the amount of change? In any case, the reversal of judgments carefully arrived at weakens confidence in the entire ranking procedure.

But the second additional guide is of the greatest significance for the user of U2. This is *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament with Special Attention to the Making of the Bible Society Edition*. Professor Metzger has written a lengthy exposition which starts

from a record of the editorial committee's discussion. It gives the arguments pro and con on a particular variation, and even records the argument of a dissenting member. The value of the Metzger volume is increased through the addition of a commentary on six hundred variations which are *not* cited in the U2 apparatus. Many of these occur in the Book of Acts. In general this addition of six hundred to a base of fourteen hundred and forty goes far toward overcoming the crippling limitation of the apparatus itself. All serious users of the U2 apparatus must rely extensively on this forthcoming commentary (now in the press). Until this volume is available, final judgment on U2 must be suspended.

To summarize : First, the text that these editions print is of the highest quality. Second, the number of variations cited is too limited to permit a sound appraisal of manuscript evidence—the one possible exception being N25. The non-specialist user of the others will be tempted (in Housman's words) "to use manuscripts as drunkards use lampposts—, not to light them on their way but to dissimulate their instability."¹

¹ A.E. Housman, ed., *M. Manilii Astronomicon : Liber Primus*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1937), p. liii.

II. LITERARY STUDIES

THE Q-PROBLEM RECONSIDERED

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The Q-hypothesis, i.e. the supposition that Matthew and Luke used, in addition to the Gospel of Mark, one other common source, generally called "Q", has occupied a predominant place in New Testament scholarship for more than a hundred years. At the present time many scholars accept this theory by referring to it as an established consensus or by using it as the starting point for further investigations. To be sure there have always been opponents, either proposing another interrelation between the gospels (e.g. preferring the priority of Matthew) or stressing the importance of oral tradition. The opponents were, however, far from unanimous, and the Q-hypothesis dominated the field. This success is not completely undeserved. There are some good arguments in its favor, especially two, which therefore have been repeated again and again : (1) The agreement between Matthaean and Lukan extra-Markan material is so great that it seems reasonable to think that both evangelists had the same source. (2) The order in which this material is arranged, is often the same in Luke as in Matthew. Indeed there are many exceptions in both cases, but this fact was not regarded as an argument against the Q-hypothesis but rather explained in another way : the evangelists often rewrote their common source—or at least one of them did—and often rearranged its order.

So the Q-hypothesis was taken for granted, and only secondary problems left, primarily these : who, Matthew or Luke, has retained the original wording and sense, and why did the other remold the source more or less radically ? A circumstance that contributed greatly to the confidence with which scholars took up and continued these investigations was the fact (or alleged fact) that Matthew and Luke have treated the Gospel of Mark in the same way, sometimes copying its text very faithfully, sometimes rewriting it very boldly, sometimes following the order of Mark, sometimes introducing more or less radical rearrangements. In other words, the Q-hypothesis could not be maintained without the assumption of a good deal of independence on the part of the evangelists. That must imply that the writers of our Synop-

tic gospels acknowledged some supreme ideas according to which they could handle their sources. Earlier this "redaction" was thought of in philological-literary categories : the evangelists were pictured chiefly as collectors, redactors and writers. But in recent times a more theological view has predominated, which sees the evangelists primarily as theologians—not only Matthew, who traditionally was reckoned as a theologian, but also Luke and Mark. It is not to be denied that these investigations were carried through with much learning and sagacity, and included many fine observations. The result was that the Q-hypothesis was more or less remolded, but on the whole it was maintained and continued to be regarded as a reliable starting point for innumerable investigations. It thus looks as if it—*mirabile dictu*—managed to survive the epoch of "Formgeschichte".

As may be evident from this introduction, I am not sure that the arguments in favor of the Q-hypothesis—taken by themselves—can explain its success. There are also other factors to be taken into consideration as well. That does not mean that I neglect the "objective" factors. On the contrary I realize that the frequently mentioned arguments—agreement in wording *and* order—have played a decisive role. But I simply do not think that these objective factors are enough to explain the hundred years of success. There are contributing factors, chiefly the following.

1. The idea that we should reckon with as few factors as possible, which in itself is a sound method. If we can do with only two sources, then we must do so (in reality of course, scholars reckoned with at least two more sources : the special one of Matthew, often referred to as "M" and that of Luke, "L", but that does not matter in this connection). It is therefore often said to be "unnecessary" or "too complicated" to reckon with more than two common sources. The facts, however, are "complicated". There are instances where the agreement between Mt. and Lk. is so great, even in small details, that it is reasonable or even necessary to think of a common source. But there are other instances where the difference is so great that it is just as necessary to think of different sources. In fact, many scholars have demonstrated that we probably must reckon in many instances with different translations from Aramaic. If we accept this, we have *de facto* abandoned the Q-hypothesis or the two-source hypothesis, at least in its extreme form; if the difference goes back to different translations, we must give up the idea of one Q-document. But it is not only in the case of possibly different translations that it is most

likely that Mt. and Lk. have different sources. There are also many other instances where the difference in wording and structure is so great that it is impossible to think that the source is the same. That does not mean that there is no connection at all between the two versions. Certainly they often have the same background, but this is more remote. The principle that we must not accept more sources than necessary is fine, but must be reasonably handled.

2. The unwillingness of scholars to abandon a hypothesis until they have found another theory to support. This inclination can be best studied in the reaction to the arguments raised against the Q-hypothesis. Most opponents do not content themselves with critical objections to Q but go further and promulgate a theory of their own. To this the supporters of Q usually react in this way : they neglect the critical observations made—e.g. that Mt. and Lk. often agree also in “Markan” pericopes. Instead the new theories are criticized, which is usually a much easier task. For it is true that these other hypotheses—e.g. the idea of the priority of Matthew—are vulnerable. But that does not excuse the neglect of the arguments against Q.

3. The vagueness of the Q-hypothesis or, otherwise expressed, the plurality of Q-theories. It is true that scholars often speak of Q as if it were evident enough what they are speaking of, i.e. as if the Q-hypothesis were a clearly circumscribed entity. Nothing could be more wrong. Scholars mean very different things when they speak of “Q”. On the one extreme we find those who will use Q as a mere signum, only indicating the material which is common to Mt. and Lk. in addition to Mk. That is *per se* an irrefutable proposition. But most synoptic investigations come inevitably to the conclusion that Mk. and the alleged non-Markan source overlap, a factor which would contradict the definition. On the other extreme we find those scholars who speak of or even think of a “Q-Document” (an expression which must involve the idea of a written source) including not only all extra-Markan material common to Mt. and Lk., but also, which in this case is no contradiction, possibly some Markan matter. Between these extreme positions there are many other opinions. There are almost as many Q-theories as scholars involved in the problem.

II

There is only one way out. It is necessary to distinguish more carefully than usually between those texts where Mt. and Lk. agree very

closely and those in which wording and structure differ widely. Some samples will demonstrate the usefulness of such a distinction. We have to begin with those texts in which the agreement is most conspicuous.

1. *The Baptist's call to repentance* : Mt. 3.7-12; Lk. 3.7-9, 16b-17. The relation between Mt. 3.7-10 and Lk. 3.7-9 is exceedingly close, and so is the agreement between Mt. 3.12 and Lk. 3.17 (the cleansing of the threshing floor). There can be no doubt that the source here is the same. Further, many details reveal that the original must be Hebrew-Aramaic (see the commentaries !). The almost total agreement between Mt. and Lk. therefore clearly indicates that the translation is one and the same. The only difference of any consequence, Mt. : *δόξητε λέγειν*, Lk. : *ἄρξῃσθε λέγειν* is too isolated to be a proof to the contrary. Here as in other smaller cases we have not to reckon with different translations but with a slight correction made by Mt. (which here seems more probable) or Lk. (or someone else, for surely Mt. and Lk., even if they used the same source, hardly had the same copy at their disposal). Now it is evident that a saying could never have started with the words *οὐ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*. As these words occur both in Mt. and in Lk., they must come from the source used by both, i.e. the connection with the foregoing was already to be found in the *Vorlage* of Mt. and Lk. That coincides with the fact that there are some agreements between Mt. and Lk. also in Mt. 3.11 and Lk. 3.16 where Mk. has a parallel (Mk. 1.7) : both Mt. and Lk. have *βαπτίζω*, Mk. *ἐβάπτισα*, and both have in addition to Mk. *πυρί*. The most striking, but often neglected, coincidence is, however, that Mt. and Lk. have the same arrangements of the two sayings here combined. Mk. has first the logion of the *ἰσχυρότερος* coming and then the logion of the two kinds of baptism, with water and with the Holy Spirit. Mt. and Lk. have initially the first half of the second saying : "I baptize you with water", then the logion about the coming one, and at last the other part of the saying on baptism : "he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit", i.e. Mk. has the following sequence : a + b, Mt. and Lk. in common : b¹ + a + b². These agreements between Mt. and Lk. against Mk. clearly indicate that the non-Markan source of Mt. and Lk. already contained a parallel to Mk. 1.7 as many scholars have assumed for a long time. This source, however, must, as the transition indicates, be the same as in the following and probably also in the foregoing, i.e. the source contained not only the sayings here in question, but had the combination as well. The usual partition of Gospel sayings into the very small original entities can be quite

proper in many instances; but it must not obscure the fact that some combinations, indeed, existed already before the gospels (one instance of many, Mt. 6. 25-33; Lk. 12.22-31). The usual way to regard Mt. 3.7-12—favored by a synoptical arrangement—as a secondary composition, made up of three parts: (1) call to repentance (from Q), (2) Messianic preaching (from Mk. or from Mk. and Q) and (3) the parable of the threshing-floor cannot be the correct one, because Mt. 3.11 + 12 and Lk. 3.16b + 17 belong together. The coming one is identical with the man with the *ventilabrum*, i.e. a judge. There is even a close connection with the foregoing “preaching of repentance”, Mt. 3.7-10 = Lk. 3.7-9 as this too ends with a hint at the imminent judgment: the ax is already at the root of the trees. This consistence is also apparent in the very wording as all three sayings end with the word *πῦρ*: ... is cut down and thrown on the *fire*; He will baptize you with Holy Spirit and with *fire*; He will burn the chaff on a *fire* that can never go out.

But is it reasonable to regard Mt. 3.11 as part of threatening with an imminent judgment? There seems to be some severe obstacles. To begin with there is the understanding of Mk., who has only the “Messianic preaching” and Lk., who evidently regards John’s sermon as an evangelion. This understanding, however, is not necessarily relevant for Mt. But even the text of Mt. seems to contain some features which do not fit very well in the proposed context. In particular there is the allusion to the (pouring out? of the) Holy Spirit. Is such a promise compatible with the idea of threatening? Hardly. But many scholars have already supposed that the Holy Spirit comes from Mk., and that “Q” spoke only of fire. That is possible. But the consistency would be yet greater if the alleged source had only *πνεύματι* and not *ἀγίω* (which would then come from Mk. or other Christian traditions). In this case we have to translate—or at least can translate—*πνεῦμα* with “wind”. That would fit excellently into the context: the man with the *ventilabrum* throws the crops up in the air that the wind may separate the chaff from the wheat and then throws the chaff into the fire. But the prediction of the coming one? Is he a judge to be afraid of? Evidently he is a judge, for as was just pointed out he is identical with the man with the *ventilabrum*—both according to Mt. and Lk. But is the coming one in Mt. 3.11 really a judge? Here it is necessary to stress that the wording of Mt. is not that of Mk. and Lk. In Mk. and Lk. people are waiting for the *ἰσχυρός*, and the Baptist promises that he will come. In Mt. the Baptist tells his audience (accord-

ing to Mt. the Sadducees and Pharisees) that the coming one whom they are awaiting is *ισχυρότερος* than himself. That must mean : "he is not milder than I am, but more rigorous. I call you to repentance and baptize you *εἰς μετάνοιαν* (this word is probably not an addition of Mt., at least it is not foreign to the context, for it appears already in Mt. 3.8-Lk. 3.8 : *καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας*). After me comes—if you do not repent—the judgment”.

This consistent text Mt. has borrowed from a non-Markan source without adding anything, as did Lk., and probably without much revision or conformation to the Markan version. That Mt. recognized the point of threatening is moreover clear from the fact that the Baptist according to him addresses Sadducees and Pharisees. For there is no reason to think that the *ὁμᾶς* of vv. 11 and 12 should be any other than the *ὁμῶν* of v. 7, i.e. the Pharisees and Sadducees. It is thus most likely that Mt.'s chief and basic source here is not Mk. but another source. Possibly he has revised this text (the *δόξητε* in v. 9 and the word "holy" in v. 12?) but the revision was evidently not radical and perhaps in v. 12 it was as slight as it was in the foregoing and the following (where Lk confirms Mt.'s great fidelity to the source).

Lk. on the contrary has totally altered the setting and thereby the interpretation. But he has only made very small corrections in the text of his source. Only in v. 16, where he keeps closer to Mk. than Mt. does, he deviates a little more from the common non-Markan source. He has, however, interpolated additional texts and comments. First he stresses that the Baptist spoke to all people (as he says already in v. 7 and repeats in vv. 10, 15, 16 and 18). Secondly he interrupts the speech in order to remark that it had some effect. As in Acts 2.37 people say "what are we to do?" and John gives advice. Thirdly the people wonder if the Baptist is not the Messiah, and he answers with the promise of the coming one and his baptism with pneuma and fire, which in Lk. evidently is a prophecy of Pentecost (cf. Acts 2; 1.5; 13.24; 19.4). Through these additions and comments Lk. has made the logion of the coming one and his baptism the general point and he can therefore characterize the preaching of the Baptist by the word *εὐαγγελιζεσθαι* (3.18). The most interesting point is, however, that Lk. has succeeded in this reinterpretation of the Baptist's preaching in spite of the fact that he has altered very little in the text of his source.

2. In the Sermon on the Mount there is only one text which has a close parallel in the Sermon on the Field (or *at* the mountain) of Lk.,

namely the parable of the mote and the beam, Mt. 7.3-5 = Lk. 6.41-42. Surely there are more logia which have near parallels in Lk., but they are to be found in other contexts; Mt. 6.22-23 (the single eye) in Lk. 11.34-35; Mt. 6.24 (God and mammon) in Lk. 16.13; Mt. 6.25-33 (on cares) in Lk. 12.22-31. It is remarkable that all these texts are to be found in the section Mt. 6.22-7.11, where only 6.34, (the troubles of tomorrow) and 7.6 (pearls before swine) have no parallels in Lk., whereas the difference between Mt. and Lk. is considerable in other parts of the Sermon. How are these observations to be reconciled to the evident and well-known fact that the frame and pattern of the Matthaean and the Lukan sermon are the same? I do not think that there is any other reasonable explanation than that Mt. knew the pattern also known to Lk., but that he did not use the single sayings found in this source because he preferred versions more familiar to him. The common assumption that the evangelists got all their material from "sources", is hardly correct. They must have known a great deal about Jesus and his sayings already as members of the Church, especially Mt., who probably was, as many scholars indeed have insisted, a kind of teacher. Mt. therefore has used the source here considered, especially in cases where he had no other source or tradition at his disposal. In the Sermon on the Mount he starts in contact with a scheme he has in common with Lk. But he soon employs sayings from other sources—probably to a great part from oral tradition—especially sayings which he wanted to emphasize. Towards the end (in Mt. 6.22-7.11) he accumulates some sayings from a common source before he returns to the framework. For, as most scholars assume, the Sermon on the Mount is surely, as a whole, the product of Mt. But he has used not only separate logia to build up his sermon. Some sayings already formed a small collection; that is especially evident in Mt. 6.1-18. These words on almsgiving, prayer and fasting were hardly collected by Mt. For it is unlikely that the collector himself would have dissolved a connection he himself has produced, as Mt. must have done if he first formed this group and then introduced the Lord's prayer, etc., in between.

3. *The Centurion's Servant*, Mt. 8.(5)8-10 = Lk. 7.(1)6b-9. Lk. has possibly expanded the story or Mt. has shortened it. My chief concern, however, is not this question, but two striking facts: (1) There is here a considerable agreement in the centurion's words (which, however, can have been handed down orally as a *bon mot*), and (2) the agreement disappears at the very moment the parallel is to be found elsewhere:

the parallel to Mt. 8.11-12 does not appear until 13.28-29 in Lk. and then in a rather different form. This would perhaps not mean so much if there were no other instances of the same kind (cf. below under 8).

4. *Two claimants to discipleship*, Mt. 8.19-22 = Lk. 9.57-60. Here again wording and structure are very similar although there are some additions and rearrangements. Lk. speaks only of somebody (τις) in both stories, while Mt. distinguishes between a γραμματεὺς and a μαθητής. Further, both evangelists have, as it seems, found that Jesus' answer ends too negatively. Mt. therefore has put the words ἀκολουθεῖ μοι nearer the end, and Lk. has added a missionary slogan : "go and announce the kingdom of God". Neither Mt. nor Lk. has left the story quite intact, but their revision is slight, and they have quite independently modified its harshness.

5. *The instructions to the Twelve* (and the Seventy-Two), Mt. 9.37-10.39; Lk. 9.1-11 and 10.2-12. Here the agreement is somewhat diffident. Wording and structure are, for the most part, very different with only a few minor exceptions : Mt. 9.37-8 = Lk. 10.2 (the great harvest and the few workmen), cf. also Mt. 9.15-16 and Lk. 10.12 and 3. Here the evangelists probably used, in addition to Mk. 6.8-11, oral traditions current in their respective communities. Missionary instruction undoubtedly was a theme widely known in the Church. Already Paul betrays a knowledge of such sayings, cf. I Cor. 9.14 in comparison with Mt. 10.10; Lk. 10.7, and I Cor. 10.27 in comparison with Lk. 10.8. Such logia were handed down in the Church and adapted to actual needs. Therefore variants are plentiful. That is in any case easier to imagine than that the evangelists were always dependent on written sources. The alternative, written or oral sources, is a false one. The evangelists surely knew some written sources (Lk. states this expressly in his introduction, Lk. 1.1-4). But they often preferred "the traditions handed down to us by the original eyewitnesses and servants of God" (Lk. 1.2; it is astonishing that scholars so often neglect these clear words and instead try to make sense out of Papias' obscure utterances).

6. *The Baptist's question and related texts*, Mt. 11.2ff. and Lk. 7.18ff. The introduction is expanded by Lk. or shortened by Mt. (cf. above, 3). The central item, however, the very question, is identical : σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον (ἄλλον) προσδοκῶμεν; The answer of Jesus, Mt. 11.4-6 = Lk. 7.22-23 is almost identical. Then follows a transition, Mt. 11.7a-Lk. 7.24a, which in spite of small differences evidently comes from a common source. Accordingly, many scholars have rightly concluded that the combination, Mt. 11.4-6 + 7-11 and Lk. 7.22-23 +

24-28, existed already in the *Vorlage*. That coincides with the fact that Mt. 11. 7-11 and Lk. 7.24-28 (Christ's testimony to the Baptist) are also very closely related. This agreement persists until Mt. 7.11 = Lk. 7.28. Then a very rough parallel to Mt. 7.12-13 is to be found in a quite different context in Lk. 16.16, and likewise a remote parallel to Lk. 7. 29-30 appears in Mt. 21.32. We have thus the same phenomenon as in 3. above : the close agreement disappears at the very moment the parallel is to be found elsewhere. That is the more remarkable here as the coincidence reappears already in Mt. 11.16-19 - Lk. 7.31-35 (the children's game). Here again we must conclude that the connection comes from the source. The evangelists thus in Mt. 11.2-11 = Lk. 7.19, 22-28 and Mt. 11.16-19 = Lk. 7.31-35 used the same source, whereas Mt. 11.12-13 - Lk. 16.16 and Lk. 7.29-30 - Mt. 21.32 go back to other sources or oral traditions. So much is sure. What remains doubtful is whether both evangelists here have introduced a saying *ad vocem Johannis* or if one of them has retained a logion which the other evangelist preferred to insert later, according to another version. The reasons for such a procedure could be internal : the logion in the deviating form was clearer, more striking or more consistent with the evangelist's own ethical or theological outlook (hardly his own private conception, but one he shared with his ecclesiastical background). Or the reasons could be external : the evangelist had the sentence from a trustworthy informant or from the oral tradition of his community. That is in any case more probable than to accept a "redaction" through which Mt. made 21.32 out of Lk. 7.29-30 or Lk. 16.16 out of Mt. 11.12-13. Of course there are deliberate alterations in the gospels. But they are made in a different way. The correction is a minor one, but can nevertheless have great consequences, as e.g. the addition of *ἐς μεράναια* in Lk. 5.32.

7. *Woes on the cities of Galilee, Christ's thanksgiving to his Father*, Mt. 11.21-23, 25-27 - Lk. 10.13-15, 21-22. Here again the degree of verbatim agreement is great. The woes follow in Mt. immediately after the pericopes just discussed, which could imply that the source is still the same. In Lk. the position is different but also in his gospel the thanksgiving follows close after the woes—Lk. has only put an account of the return of the Seventy-Two in between. In this case both Mt. and Lk. probably follow the order already existing in the source. The woes are very alike in Mt. and Lk., but Mt. has an addition which in its turn resembles Lk. 10.12 (which in Lk. comes immediately *before* the woes). In the thanksgiving there is only one more significant

difference : Mt. has ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱόν, ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πατέρα, Lk. : γινώσκει τίς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ. This disagreement has often been observed but seldom correctly accounted for. It is quite insufficient to say that Mt. has ἐπιγινώσκει, Lk. γινώσκει, and then to think that Mt. takes γινώσκει in the sense of "know perfectly well". Indeed, ἐπιγινώσκειν can have this sense also in the New Testament, but Mt. elsewhere (7.16, 20; 14.35: 17.12) uses the word in the sense of "recognize", i.e. the Matthaean phrase has exactly the same meaning as the one used by Lk. It is possible, but by no means certain that Lk. in his rearrangement of the common source left out Mt. 11.28-30.

8. *The Beelzebub controversy*, Mt. 12.25ff - Lk. 11.17ff., esp. Mt. 12. 27-28 = Lk. 11.19-20. A similar story is told in Mk. 3.23ff. Here again a very close relation between Mt. and Lk. appears at the very moment the Markan parallel ends, for Mt. 12.27-28 and Lk. 11.19-20 are identical with only one exception : Mt. has πνεύματι, Lk. δακτύλῳ, a correction which probably, as many scholars think, is due to Mt. There are, however, remarkable affinities between Mt. and Lk. also before and after this uniform section. Mk. has ἐὰν βασιλεία, Mt. and Lk. πᾶσα βασιλεία; Mk. μερισθῇ, Mt. μερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται and Lk. διαμερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται; Mk. οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει, Mt. and Lk. : πῶς (Mt. + οὖν) σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ. It is thus evident that Mt. and Lk. here too use a source besides Mk., and it is most probable that this source is identical with the one used in the following verses. For as soon as the version of Mk. disappears the agreement between Mt. and Lk. becomes almost total. As Mt. once again follows Mk. more closely than Lk. does, it is likely that Lk. has copied the other source more truly than Mt. A comparison of the three versions, Mk., Lk. and Mt., will verify this supposition. We have two basic versions Mark's and Luke's, and a mediating one, that of Matthew.

The two basic versions are differently structured. Mk. has a conclusion from analogies : if a *kingdom* is divided against itself and if a *household* is divided against itself they cannot stand. Likewise Satan cannot stand if he is divided against himself. Lk. on the contrary has a deduction from a general rule to a particular case. *Every* kingdom divided against itself falls to ruin, house falling upon house. Thus, if Satan is divided against himself, how can his *kingdom* stand? In this syllogism πᾶσα is indispensable in the first premise, for only if the rule concerns every kingdom it must also concern the kingdom of Satan. Likewise the word kingdom is indispensable in the conclusion

as the rule is put forth as a rule of kingdoms. Lk. deduces his conclusion from a *general rule* concerning kingdoms, Mk. from *two samples* βασιλεία and οἰκία. Scholars have failed to appreciate this structural difference on account of the words καὶ οἶκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει which have caused them to take over the idea of the divided household from Mk. (and Mt.). Therefore the word "divided" is inserted by many commentators,¹ and it now appears also in the New English Bible where not only "divided" is added (in the RV in brackets), but also the words ἐπὶ οἶκον are neglected (which is not the case in the RV). Surely the phrase "and house falls upon house" is somewhat obscure,² but that does not entitle us to make an arbitrary harmonization. For not only the wording but above all the structure of the Lukan logion is an evident indication that the conclusion is from every kingdom to the kingdom of Satan. The words "and house falls upon house" thus have only the function of illustrating the disaster of the kingdom.³ The words in question form a "circumstantial clause", which in vernacular Greek corresponds to a kind of subordination : house falling upon house.

Mt. has combined the two versions in a very skillful way. Like Lk. he introduces the first setting by πᾶσα and has ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ in the conclusion. He thus has overtaken the deduction from general to particular from Lk. Like Mk., however, Mt. speaks also of a divided household, but conforms this setting to the Lukan structure changing καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ into πᾶσα ... οἰκία μερισθείσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς : not only every kingdom but also every house divided against itself is lost. Moreover he has added πόλις and introduced it in its proper place between βασιλεία and οἰκία. For according to ideas current in those days human community was built up precisely by those three categories : βασιλεία, πόλις and οἰκία. The rule—division ruins—is thus valid in all cases in every instance. In this way Mt. out of the two versions has produced a new entity. Mt. here certainly

¹ Cf., for example, J.M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London, 1930), p. 160 : "μερισθεῖς must be supplied. 'A house divided against itself falls'. This is clearly expressed in Mk. and Mt.'".

² It is, however, not so arbitrary as it might seem to habitants of big modern towns on the flat land. In Oriental and Mediterranean towns built on a hill (cf. Mt. 5.14), a ruined house might fall upon another house. It is also possible that οἶκος here means family or dynasty, cf. οἶκος Δαυὶδ (Lk. 1.27 ; 1.69 ; 2.4 : ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὸς Δαυὶδ), οἶκος Ἰακώβ (Lk. 1.33 ; cf. Acts 7.46), πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ (Acts 2.36).

³ Thus W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Berlin, 1966), p. 238.

does not reproduce the "Q"-version. Lk. possibly or even probably does.¹

It is in any case evident that the non-Markan source began before the point when the agreement between Mt. and Lk. becomes total, at least with the words *πάσα βασιλεία*. Probably, however, it began earlier. For the introductions to the saying correspond very closely : *εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις* (Lk. *τὰ διανοήματα*) *αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*, whereas Mk. has a quite different opening. Probably the non-Markan Beelzebub pericope began even earlier, for both Mt. and Lk. tell us, differing from Mk., that the Beelzebub controversy was caused by the healing of a mute man. There are also some striking affinities in the wording : *δαιμονιζόμενος δαιμόνιον ; κωφὸν λαλεῖν ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός ; ἐξίσταντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι*. Oddly enough, however, there is an even closer parallel to Lk. 11.14 in Mt. 9.33 as both evangelists have : *ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι*. That is hardly an accidental conformity. Mt. apparently used the same theme twice but in the first place only mentioned the accusation against Jesus but not his answer (Beza and other manuscripts reduce the doublet by eliminating Mt. 9.34). Mt. 9.33-34, together with Mt. 12.22-28 and Lk. 11.14-21 point to the fact that we are dealing here with a non-Markan source, which not only contained a Beelzebub-controversy, but introduced it with a short story about the healing of a mute.

So far we have been able to uncover at least three fragments of a non-Markan source containing not only single sayings, but also introductions and transitions, not only the story of the centurion's servant—which is said to be a unicum in Q—but also the story of the healing of a mute.

9. *Other logia also to be found in Mt. 12 and Lk. 11.* After the Beelzebub pericope both Mt. and Lk. employ other sayings, in which there is close agreement. Surely the next logion, the parable of the *ἰσχυρός* watching his house, sounds very different in Mt. and Lk. But that is due to the fact that Mt. again keeps close to Mk. ; Mt. 12.29 is nearly identical with Mk. 3.27. This time Mt. makes no attempt to combine the divergent texts. If the *Vorlage* had this saying here, which of course

¹ Theoretically it is possible that Mt. has preserved the original saying in its integrity, whereas the versions of Mk. and Lk. are mutilated in different ways. In this case Mt. has not combined two versions, but preferred a source of his own. Even so, however, Lk. might reproduce the source here concerned, although we cannot be sure that he did not revise it at some point.

is doubtful, Lk. could have inserted here this text which he had taken over from a non-Markan source, on account of the Markan arrangement, which he probably knew without much caring for its text, having found a version which he thought was better. For Lk.'s chief source throughout the chapter is not Mk. but another source.

After this logion on the *λοχυρός* Mt. and Lk. again coincide, for Mt. 12.30 is identical with Lk. 11.23. Now this logion : "Who is not with me is against me, and who does not gather with me scatters", certainly is a very meagre argument for a common source but the position is an indication that Mt. and Lk. still use the same prototype.

In the following, Mt. first keeps to Mk., cf. Mt. 12.31-32 and Mk. 3. 28-29, but deviates more and more, using other versions (cf. Lk. 12.10; 6.43-45) and material peculiar to himself (Mt. 12.36-37).

After this interlude Mt. again employs texts which have very close parallels in the Gospel of Lk. and there are placed immediately after the Beelzebub pericope. There are only some differences in order. Mt. has first (12.39-42) the Q-version of Christ's refusal to the demand for a sign, then the logion of the return of the Evil Spirit (12.43-45), Lk. has the reverse order, the returning spirit in 11.24-26, the refusal in 11.29-32. It is not easy to say who inverted the order, but it is evident that these texts already were closely connected in the source. There are also here a few differences, of which only two are of any consequence : (1) Mt. 12.40 (Jonah in the sea-monster's belly) diverges from Lk. 11.29 (Jonah preaching to the Ninevites) and (2) Mt. mentions the Ninevites first, the Queen of the South secondly, Lk. vice versa. The common view is that Mt. has introduced the sea-monster and Lk. reversed the order, and I see no reason to disagree on this point. After 12.45 Mt. again turns to Mk. (Mk. 3.31ff.).

10. *The parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven.* Not until Mt. 23.37-38 = Lk. 13.34-35 (the lament over Jerusalem) and Mt. 24.45-51 = Lk. 12.42-46 (the faithful and wise servant) does Mt. employ texts in which the agreement with Lk. is as impressive as in the cases discussed above. There are, however, some shorter sayings to be considered.

The chapter of Parables in Mt. (ch. 13) contains only one saying, in which the agreement with Lk. is nearly total, the parable of Leaven (Mt. 13.33 = Lk. 13.20b-21). Even here, however, we notice that Mt. already in the preceding, in the parable of the Mustard Seed (which has a parallel in Mk. 4.30-32) agrees on some points with Lk. against Mk. Both Mt. and Lk. have *ὁμοία ἐστὶν* (of the *βασιλεία*), both have

ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος, Mt. has αὐξήθη, Lk. ἤξησεν; Mt. γίνεται δένδρον, Lk. ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον; and both have ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ. Furthermore the parables were evidently closely connected already in the non-Markan source, for ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος clearly corresponds to ἦν λαβοῦσα γυνή. Moreover we can observe that Mt. here as in the Beelzebub controversy combines the two sources, e.g. Mt.'s ὅταν δὲ αὐξήθη is a contamination of Mk. ὅταν σπαρῇ, and the Lukan ἤξησεν and so on. Mt. has on the whole added the Markan version and the short Lukan version, for Lk. mentions neither σπέρματα nor λάχανα nor μικρότερον nor μείζον. Both the shortness and the aorist forms connect the Lukan version with the following parable on leaven and it is therefore most likely that Lk. follows the non-Markan source more closely than Mt., who combines the two versions. Already the non-Markan source contained both parables, forming there a pair (ἄνθρωπος, γυνή). Here too we have a case of partial overlapping.

11. *The Lament over Jerusalem*, Mt. 23.37-39 - Lk. 13.34-35. There is an obvious, minor amendment in Greek in Lk., who avoids the repetition ἐπισυναγαγεῖν - ἐπισυνάγει. The other small differences are a little more difficult to explain but there can be no doubt that the source is the same. In Mt. the position provides the interpretation: the expression, "until the time when you say, Blessed is He that comes", must be taken eschatologically of the "second coming". That is probably also the original sense and possibly also that of Lk. But as he has the sentence already in ch. 13, it could be that Lk. with the words: "until the time comes when you say: Blessed ..." is thinking of the entrance into Jerusalem. Neither Mt. nor Lk. seem to have maintained the original context. Lk. has a catch-word connection (Jerusalem) but at the same time he has the logion at a crucial place in his conception of the life of Jesus: at the "departure from Galilee" (the title in Huck-Lietzmann). As to Mt., he evidently has regarded the lament over Jerusalem as an apt conclusion to the woes against the Pharisees and the Scribes.

It has often been taken for granted that these woes also go back to a common source. There is, to be sure, some connection. But on the whole the difference between Mt. 23 and Lk. 11.37-52 is extraordinarily great. The single sayings deviate considerably in vocabulary, structure and sense and the order in which they appear is quite different

Many of these differences must go back far behind the gospels, in some cases back to the translations from Aramaic.¹

Even here the abrupt appearance of an almost uniform text is startling. Why is the agreement suddenly so great? Because this logion was reckoned as a special gem? Hardly. The real reason might be that the gospel writers had no other source than the document here concerned. If they only knew one version they adopted it with only small corrections; if they knew two (or more) they in some cases transmitted both, but as a rule they either preferred one of them or combined them. In the foregoing we have found samples of these different procedures.

12. *The faithful and wise servant*, Mt. 24.45-51 - Lk. 12.42-46. The agreement is great, but there are some differences which betray a continuous divergence. Mt. speaks of a δούλος (vv. 45, 46, 48, 50), and consequently in v. 49 has συνδούλους, whereas Lk. in v. 42 has οἰκονόμος and therefore in v. 45 τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας. Also the difference between τροφή in Mt. and σιτομέτριον in Lk. is probably in accordance with this, for the οἰκονόμος does not give the household food, but ensures that everybody gets his due part. (Further, Mt. has ἀμὴν, Lk. ἀληθώς; Mt. ὑποκριτῶν, Lk. ἀπίστων). These differences are certainly related to the question raised in Lk. 12.41 by Peter if the preceding saying is intended "for us or for everyone", which surely implies that 12.39-40 is for all, whereas the following speaks of οἰκονόμοι (apostles and leaders). We therefore have to reckon here with a certain "redaction", probably on the part of Lk., but that is not quite sure. The alterations are in any case not radical and the structure is left quite intact. The source is certainly the same.

Here, as well, however, the coincidence between Mt. and Mk. is not confined to the single logion handed down in Mt. 24.45-51 = Lk. 12.42-46. Before this logion the agreement between Mt. and Lk. is great. Lk. 12.39-40 corresponds very closely with Mt. 24.43-44. It means little that Mt. has εἴασεν instead of Lk.'s ἀφῆκεν, and that he adds διὰ τοῦτου. It is a little more remarkable that Mt. has φυλακῇ for Lk.'s ὥρα (but in v. 44 Mt. has ὥρα—unchanged?) and adds ἐγγηγόρησεν ἅν καί. Thereby, however, Mt. has only adduced related ideas, which is to be found in the same context in Mk. 13.34-36; Lk. 12.37; Mt. 24.43; 25.13. Mt. has again combined and harmonized the related texts.

¹ Cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1967), pp. 2, 275.

III

From these observations it can be concluded that there once existed something like a Q-Document, a non-Markan written source used by both Mt. and Lk. But this document was not as extensive as is generally assumed and was not used by Mt. or Lk. in the way modern scholars have supposed.

As to the extent of the alleged source, it has most often been taken for granted that all non-Markan material common to Mt. and Lk. came from the same source, either written or (as was sometimes supposed), oral. That can hardly be the case for in many instances the variants found in the gospels must go back to different sources, sometimes even different translations. We have kept to (and must keep to) the principle that a common immediate source cannot be acknowledged unless there is a great agreement in structure as well as in wording. If these factors are missing we have to reckon with two or more proximate sources. In some cases it was possible to demonstrate the propriety of this principle : when the agreement between Mt. and Lk. diminished it could often be traced back to an influence from Mk.

It could also be concluded that the alleged Q-Document must have contained some "Markan" material. That is an old supposition. We could, however, go further along this line than usually has been the case, e.g. by demonstrating that the Q-Document had a whole Beelzebub pericope of its own. We must differ between Q as a signum—all non-Markan material common to Mt. and Lk.—and Q as a document. The latter contained both less and more than the former. It did not contain all "Q" material but instead much material—more than generally accepted—with parallels in Mk.

But what about the remaining Q-material? Must we accept the existence of two different Q-documents? This problem I have not discussed and there is no place left to discuss it now. But I do not think that this is the solution. We have rather to accept that the evangelists had heard some stories of Jesus and learned—by heart—some sayings by Him, and that this material was more precious to them than anything they could find in some "sources" (cf. Lk. 1.1-4). The evangelist surely knew some written documents (cf. again Lk. 1.1-4!), but they were not dependent on them. The last assertion has been accepted by recent scholars to a certain extent as they often postulate that Mt. or Lk. or both have rewritten their "sources" radically according to their own literary and theological standards.

In doing so, however, I think that they have exaggerated the license of the gospel writers. The evangelists have not arbitrarily rewritten their sources. If they knew only one source they have copied it very faithfully—otherwise there would be no cases of almost total agreement between them. When they deviate from a certain source more or less radically, it is not because they suddenly thought it necessary to rewrite it, but because they used another source, either as it stood or in combination with the “chief” source (see above under 1. and 8.). Sometimes to be sure they have introduced more through-going alterations, but even then they probably as a rule did so because they felt them to be in accordance with Christian ideas fundamental to all Christians.

A Q-Document did exist, but it contained less than generally accepted—only part of the Q-material— and more than often thought—also Markan material. And the evangelists were not as dependent on written sources alone as has often been supposed, and their license in using them was not as great as some scholars would have us believe.

THE CHRISTIAN TWO WAYS TRADITION : ITS ANTIQUITY, FORM, AND FUNCTION

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This paper relies so heavily upon the critical judgments of others that, so far from being a finished product, there is a certain sense in which it is hardly begun. Nevertheless, the probability that the Two Ways tradition deserves to be treated as evidence bearing on primitive Christian history continues to meet scholarly resistance. For that reason, I am willing to venture the following essay as a tentative probing of one aspect of that history.

I. *Old Solutions and New Evidence*

As early as 1882 Krawutzcky¹ had proposed a primitive Two Ways document underlying Barnabas, Apostolic Constitutions, and Apostolic Church Order. Two late nineteenth century discoveries initially appeared to lend credence to his hypothesis. The first was the Jerusalem Codex, a dated (1056) manuscript including the full text of the Didache—which made it possible to view previously known but later examples of the Two Ways tradition (Apostolic Constitutions 7, Apostolic Church Order, Life of Schnudi) in a new literary light. The second was the (re)discovery of a full copy of the Latin *Doctrina*, covering roughly the same material as Did. 1-6 except for the synoptic-like sayings in Did. 1.3b-2.1. When C. Taylor provided convincing proof of the Jewish affinities of the material and Harnack converted to a common source hypothesis, there appeared to be an emerging consensus in favor of a *Jewish Two Ways* document from which the Christian tradition was drawn.² The victory of such a consensus would have prevented the relegation of the Two Ways to the second century and its use as a “demonstration” that second-century pietism had “degenerated” into a “mere moralism.”

¹ See Adolf Harnack, *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 26.

² C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, 1886), and Harnack, *op. cit.*

The Two Ways tradition (and the documents in which it is found) might have been taken as evidence of strains in primitive Christianity which were not congenial to the prevailing views of the apostolic age.

However, the chief documentary support for the common source hypothesis was the *Doctrina*, and it was quickly written off as a Latin translation of the *Didache* (with interpolations from *Barnabas*). By the 1920's a new consensus was produced, according to which *Barnabas* was the originator of the Two Ways and the *Didache* was secondary. The ascendancy of the theory of the originality of *Barnabas* was largely achieved by James Muilenberg and J. Armitage Robinson.¹ Muilenberg stated the position with summary abruptness: "The theory of a common source is only a theory, and has no basis in actuality The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is dependent upon the Epistle of *Barnabas* for the common material."² Connections between the *Didache* and *Barnabas*, in which Two Ways motifs occur outside the Two Ways chapters proper, were important considerations in the argument. These connections could have been accounted for if both used a common source which had influenced more than the Two Ways sections;³ but to see this was to see the hole in the garment!

Further, in Robinson's treatment, a degree of tendentiousness could be seen. The *Didache* describes a form of church order which did not accord with the popular understanding of the evolution of the church. By making *Barnabas* the author of the Two Ways, the *Didache* was assigned so late a date that its contents (especially ecclesiastical regulations) were no longer merely hard to fit into the conventional picture of the early church but were, rather, quite impossible to put into any historical frame of reference. For Robinson, the *Didachist* constructed an imaginative "account of the Christian ordinances and ministry" in the primitive church; the account does not represent the situation in the *Didachist's* own church. Robinson drew the appropriate conclusion for his view without qualms:

¹ James Muilenberg, *The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Marburg, 1929), and J. Armitage Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache* (London, 1920).

² Muilenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ There were, of course, isolated efforts to establish a pre-Barnabean, pre-*Didache* source. Among the most notable was E.J. Goodspeed's in "The *Didache*, *Barnabas*, and the *Doctrina*," *Anglican Theological Review*, 27 (1945), 228-47, and the Appendix to *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. E.J. Goodspeed (New York, 1950).

Such a view of the book deprives it indeed of most of its historical value; but it explains the fact that the picture of the Church which is there drawn remains, after nearly forty years of eager investigation, isolated and unique: history has found no time and no locality to which such a representation can be reasonably assigned.¹

It is a brave conjecture. Yet, it does raise the question: what does it mean to say that "history has found no time and no locality?" History, in this sense, is a construct. It is *our* history, over against which the evidence must be given its rights.

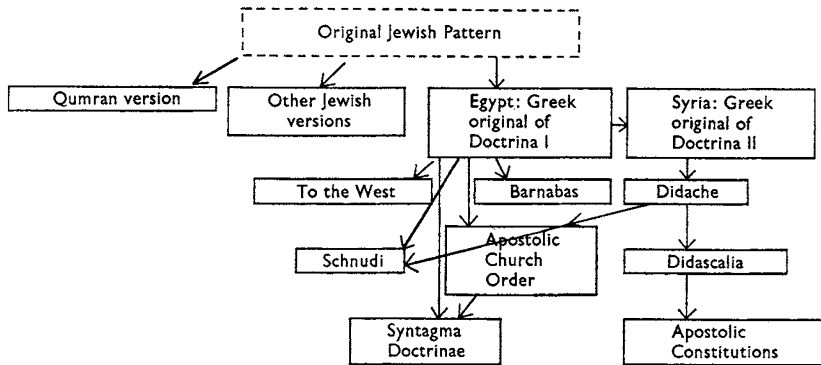
Whatever ambiguities in the evidence permitted the theory of Barnabean originality to be adopted, the discovery of the Qumran Manual of Discipline has required a different assessment of the data. IQS 3.13-4.26 preserves a sectarian tradition which is—both in content and structure—markedly similar to the Christian Two Ways and provides irrefutable documentation of a Jewish precursor. It can no longer be maintained that Barnabas created the Two Ways. A new consensus has been effected, of which the primary monument is perhaps Jean-Paul Audet's *La Didache*². Behind IQS and the Christian forms stands an ancient Jewish oral or written pattern. That pattern is now recognizable in diverse dress in both Jewish and Christian sources. The following adapted³ stemma-diagram (p. 63) illustrates the direction of the emerging consensus.

IQS establishes the antiquity of the pattern. The question which that antiquity must now be allowed to press is whether our picture of the first century church is affected. Whatever else may be said about Audet's work, he has allowed the Didache to take on an unex-

¹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 44. A document cannot be left in this kind of limbo by the historian. F.E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London, 1938), assigned the Didache to a moderate Montanist and to the late second or early third century. His recent survey of "The Didache-Still Debated," in *Church Quarterly*, 3 (1970-71), 57-62, does not advance the debate. He still believes that the Didache used Barnabas.

² J.P. Audet, *La Didachè, Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris, 1958). B.C. Butler, "The 'Two Ways' in the Didache," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1961), 27, n. 6 compares the relation of the Qumran and Christian Two Ways to the similarity between the Synoptics and John.

³ Cf. L.W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background* (Oxford, 1966), p. 107. Any such diagram can only represent an approximation, but in broad outline it assists us in picturing the history of the development of the form. A more flexible statement of relationships, taking into account the special problems of "evolved literature," is provided by Robert A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. III, ed. R.M. Grant (New York, 1965), pp. 7-16. Mutations (as in Irenaeus) and cross-breeds (as in Lactantius) are left out of account.



pected role as a witness to (Syrian?) Christianity shortly after the middle of the first century. That probably claims too much for the *Didache* as a whole, but it does reckon with the new shape of the evidence.

II. *Form and Content*

Until now, our discussion has rested on the assertion that IQS 3.13-4.26 exhibits material and structural parallels to the Christian Two Ways material. The metaphor of "two paths" is such a natural rhetorical device that it should be obvious that considerably more than the metaphor itself is needed to establish connections.

Yet, care is not always taken; and the temptation is always present to read Two Ways ideology into every use of the two ways metaphor. When, for example, K.E. Kirk mentions Matt. 7.13-14 as a direct reference to the "Two Ways," not even the proximity of the Golden Rule (7.12) is enough to make the case entirely convincing. But surely something has happened to Kirk's discriminatory mechanisms when he speaks of "approximations to the thought" in "the parables of the Sheep and the Goats, the Wheat and the Tares, the Drag Net, the Ten Virgins, the Rich Man and Lazarus, and the Two Houses"¹. It is clear that each of these examples depends on a contrast, frequently heightened to dualistic proportions. But this contrast in itself hardly proves that any of them is derivative from the Two Ways tradition.

In form as well as content the Two Ways is characterized by more

¹ K.E. Kirk, *The Vision of God* (London, 1932), p. 125.

than a metaphor of contrast. The following pattern is apparent in the earliest representatives of the genre :

1. Sharply dualistic introduction
2. Lists of "virtues" and "vices"
3. Concluding eschatological admonition

The sources from which such a pattern might have been derived are limited. One may exclude as direct ancestors metaphorical usages of the terminology in Greek sources; Prodicus' Fable (Xenophon, Mem. 2.1), for example, has interesting parallels but is not a source (although it may have influenced the Two Ways theme in Lactantius).

The content of the Two Ways is thoroughly Jewish. *If* one is to credit a metaphor with having generated the pattern, then it would be natural to turn to the Old Testament which is replete with examples of a two paths antithesis : Deut. 30.15-20; Jer. 21.8; Ps. 1.1,6; Prov. 2.12-15 are frequently cited.¹ The amenability of such passages to employment in a Two Ways context is shown by their popularity in later forms of the tradition. The question is whether the antithetical formulation of a two paths metaphor in the Old Testament will account for the sharply dualistic construction of the Two Ways pattern in 1QS and the early Christian documents.

The answer to that question is, in my judgment, negative. That is not to say, however, that the biblical metaphor played no part in the development of the tradition. If nothing more, the metaphor's antithetical formulation and moral earnestness provided an aperture through which a strong strain of ethical dualism could make its way into Judaism.

If more than the two paths metaphor is required to explain the rise of the Two Ways pattern, it becomes important to look in new directions for the origin of the form. J.P. Audet, who has contributed so much to our appreciation of the relation of 1QS to the Christian Two Ways, is apparently prevented by his concentration on the Didache from arriving at a firm definition of the genre. That the Two Ways is dualistic *at its core* does not receive the attention it deserves. He occasionally refers to the Two Ways as a type of moral exhortation. A little more specifically, it is a "mixed genre" characteristic of the "confluence" of legal and sapiential streams in Juda-

¹ R. Knopf, *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Ergänzungsband 1 (Tübingen, 1920), p. 4, avers that "the metaphor of the Two Ways ... appears with extraordinary frequency in the LXX; the number runs into the hundreds."

ism.¹ Both observations are true as far as they go, but they do not go far enough.

Klaus Baltzer's two-part study of *Das Bundesformular*² wrestles with the issue of genre more seriously. Baltzer shows that the elements of the ancient covenant formula were amazingly constant in spite of occasional modifications to meet new situations. He wishes to explain IQS 3.13-4.26 as the product of a basic and *conscious* modification of the form which arose under the impulse of eschatological thought. Early Jewish eschatology provides a possible explanation of the centrality of the dualistic element and covenant renewal offers an attractive original *Sitz*, so that one's hopes are raised that Baltzer has indeed provided the answer.

This turns out not to be the case. The modification which Baltzer describes really looks like a new form, not a revised formula, as a tabular comparison shows.

<i>OT Covenant Formula</i>	<i>IQS 3.13-4.26</i>
1. Preamble	1.
2. Historical recital	2. Dogmatic section
3. Basic conditions	3-4. Ethical section
4. Specific conditions	
5. Invoking of gods	
6. Curse and blessing	6. Eschatological promise/threat

The attempt to explain the substitution of "dogmatics" for "recital" as a consequence of the denigration of historical acts in predestinarian thought overlooks the kind of "providential Heilsgeschichte" developed in the wisdom movement in both its apocalyptic (e.g., Apocalypse of Weeks) and "sophisticated" (Wisd. of Sol.) branches. Moreover, Baltzer successfully isolates in IQS 1.18-2.18 a passage within the Manual of Discipline that stands much closer to the covenant formula. These considerations render Baltzer's proposal sufficiently improbable as to encourage search for an alternative.³

The most attractive effort to delineate the genre is that of E. Kam-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

² In *Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Bd. 4 (Neukirchen, 1960), esp. pp. 103-141.

³ Cf. E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 1964), p. 163, n. 1.

lah.¹ Kamlah's interest is in the double catalogs of virtues and vices in early Christian literature. While he finds traces of several influences in the various catalogs, he directs special attention to an Iranian myth which has been mediated to the early church through two main streams—Judaism and hellenistic syncretism. Of these streams, the more important is Judaism. For his reconstruction of the myth, Kamlah relies on three sources : 1QS 3.13-4.26; Philo *Quest. in Ex.* 1.23; and Plutarch *De Is. et Osir.* 46-47. According to Kamlah, the myth begins with two cosmic Princes—of Light (Ormazd) and of Darkness (Ahriman). The Prince of Light creates six spirits (the Amesha Spentas), which are matched by the creation of six evil spirits by the Prince of Darkness. With these are allied twenty-four lesser spirits. Ormazd retires to a "great distance," a symbol of the enmity between the eternally-warring Princes. The war reaches a final climax in the victory of the Light forces, which insures the blessedness of all who adhere to the Light.

Kamlah derives the Two Angels/Ways pattern (the Ways is a later form of the teaching) directly from this myth and regards the example in 1QS as especially close to the mythological source. Central to his argument is the notion that the lists of spirits in the myth is the beginning of the double catalog.² The section on the way of the Spirit of Truth in 1QS 3 betrays its nearness to the myth in two respects : (1) the way is a list of traits of the Spirit which correspond closely to the lesser angels of the myth, and (2) the list may be referred to as the *council* of the Spirit. 1QS 3.13-4.26 amounts almost to a translation of the myth into the form

1. Two Angels introduction
2. Exhortation in list format
3. Eschatological promise/threat conclusion.

Although carrying this schema through sometimes requires subtleties which make simple texts complex, I think we may state Kamlah's contribution in minimal terms that will permit us to proceed. Kamlah has established that the Two Spirits section of 1QS, some early

¹ *Op. cit.* I am heavily indebted to Kamlah, especially for calling attention to the way in which the catalog serves to heighten the sense of special identity. In my judgment, this function (which will be developed below) is obviously more marked in the more mythological examples of the form.

² The Amesha Spentas are personifications of attributes : Asha (Right Law), Vohu Mano (Good Disposition), Khshathra (Lordship), Armaiti (Devotion), Haurvatat (Perfection), Ameretat (Immortality). Compare the list of gods in Plutarch *De Is. et Osir.* 47 : Good Thought, Truth, Order, Wisdom, Wealth, Creator of Pleasure in Good Things.

Christian virtue-vice catalogs, and the Two Ways pattern belong to a common genre which was generated in Judaism by contact with Iranian mythology. A relatively demythologized type of the form is also found, which I would regard as a later or more developed form of the tradition.

III. *Function and Sitz in Judaism*

1. *IQS 3.13-4.26*. Although monotheistic themes run through the entire passage, the tone is sharply dualistic. From the section's opening rubric we learn that this teaching is for the use of the *maskil* in instructing the "sons of light" about "all the varieties of their spirits with their traits" including "their works in their societies."¹ Veritable armies of spirits (as later, in 3.24) are in view; they are separated into two camps. This radically dualistic understanding is expressed most importantly in a double catalog (4.2-14) of those traits by which each Spirit leads men astray or aright. The Spirits are involved in a continuing antagonism which will eventuate in the victory of the Prince of Light and his "side."

The myth does not concern itself only with the cosmic sphere; indeed, its purpose is to clarify the human situation. The heavenly antagonism is a type of the antagonism which divides the families of men, who are also divided into two camps (4.15). Characteristics of the "sons of light" appear in the midst of traits of the "Prince of Light" in the catalog. In 3.18, 3.22, and 4.23 we see movement in the direction of internalizing and individualizing the struggle, although this is clearly not the dominant mood of the passage. The instruction is intended to draw the line between the sons of Light and the sons of Darkness in a conflict of cosmic dimensions.

The Two Spirits passage in *IQS* functions to establish and maintain a strong sense of in-group awareness. It sharpens the sense of "we-ness" among the sons of Light, who are expected to identify themselves unambiguously as the "guys in the white hats." Those instructed are meant to learn the difference between "we" and "they", those

¹ The translation of the Manual followed here and elsewhere is that of W.H. Brownlee, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies* 10-12 (New Haven, 1951). Most interpreters since Brownlee have adopted "society" as the translation of *dôr* here and at 4.15, following a suggestion of F.J. Neuberg, "An Unrecognized Meaning of Hebrew *Dôr*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 9 (1950), 215-17. The point is important for Kamlah's understanding of the function of this catalog.

who belong to the community and those who do not, and the significance of being brought into a covenant "to love all the sons of light... but to hate all the sons of darkness" (1.9).

Thus, 1QS 3.13-4.26 can be viewed as a kind of homiletic exhortation concerned with group identity. A more specific Sitz may be indicated for it, however, if 1QS is not a random collection but a selection of materials for which the designation "Manual of Discipline" is appropriate. In that case, the juxtaposition of the Two Spirits instruction (3.13-4.26) and the covenant (renewal) formula identified by Baltzer¹ (1.18-2.18, with 2.18-3.12 as explanatory appendage) must be accounted for. Both could most easily be understood in relation to an annual covenant renewal ceremony. And the Two Spirits teaching would, in effect, be a part of the initiation instruction of those being inducted into the community.

2. *Testament of Asher*. The pattern outlined on p. 64 above furnishes the structural outline of the Testament of Asher, but neither function nor Sitz are similar to 1QS. Here the Two Ways are not those of the Spirits but are genuinely two paths open to men. The Spirits have largely given way to the yetzers. The conflict has become a tug-of-war going on within man. The genre has been ethicized and relatively demythologized. Nevertheless, the Two Ways introduction is clear. The double catalog beginning in Test. Ash. 2, for all its sophisticated observation about the good and evil in each man, is still recognizable; nothing makes it possible to say that "truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light" (5.4). At the close, eschatological sanctions are invoked.

Even here the vestiges of the more mythological form are evident. No sin is worse than being a "two-faced" man who follows "the example of the spirits of deceit" (!, 6.2) so as to be "ruled by Beliar" (!, 1.8). At the end, men are judged "when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan" (6.4).²

Yet, while the Testament of Asher and 1QS 3.13-4.26 are structurally parallel, ethicization and individualization have proceeded to the point of requiring a different setting and function. The pattern here serves school discourse in the interest of ethical instruction.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 58f.

² Testament quotations are from R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II (Oxford, 1913).

IV *Function and Sitz in Early Christian Literature*

1. *Gal. 5.17-24*. Having taken our basic clue from Kamlah, we have some obligation to consider the evidence of the New Testament. Kamlah has succeeded in showing the high incidence of baptismal language in connection with New Testament catalogs. And this provides *one* Christian Sitz for the catalogs similar to the initiatory instruction postulated for IQS. But the variety of literatures in which catalogs of some type appear are too numerous to allow us to proceed without extreme caution. Perhaps the strongest case can be made for *Gal. 5.17-24* which comes very close to the pattern with which we are familiar.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Dualistic (spirit-flesh) | <i>Gal. 5.17-18</i> |
| introduction | |
| 2. Double catalog | <i>Gal. 5.19-21a, 22-23</i> |
| 3. Eschatological threat/promise | <i>Gal. 5.21b, 24</i> |

Kamlah calls this "a microcosmic application of the Two Angels" teaching and believes that Paul has theologized the mythological language by means of the spirit-flesh dichotomy.¹

While one should be cautious about ascribing technical Two Ways influence on New Testament passages, neither should he make the paucity of New Testament examples the basis of simple arguments for the late entry of the Two Ways tradition into the Christian movement. Such a small library of documents can hardly be more than very selectively representative of the rich diversity of early Christianity. And the facts that the form came into Christianity from Judaism, that it was well-established in pre-Christian Jewish usage, that its earliest clear Christian literary remains obviously are developed manifestations—all these argue for its introduction into Christianity at a very early time.

2. *The Epistle of Barnabas*. The epistle itself stands outside the field of our present concern. It is interesting that the author's mind is so thoroughly saturated by Two Ways ideology that its themes pervade the entire work (i.e., 1-17, as well as 18-21). But this is not the place to pursue Barnabas' idiosyncratic employment of the traditions available to him. Our interest is solely with the Two Ways tradition.

While I am personally convinced by the arguments of those who

¹ *Op. cit.*, p 201.

regard some form of the Greek tradition behind the *Doctrina* as the source of Barnabas' Two Ways, it is plain that certain elements of the Barnabean form are more primitive than the corresponding elements in the *Latin Doctrina*. Of our three earliest Christian witnesses, Barnabas gives us the best access to the tradition's earliest form.¹

There is only a limited sense in which the celebrated chaotic order of Barnabas' Two Ways is to be adduced as evidence of primitiveness. The alleged disorder has been seriously exaggerated;² insofar as it is measurable by divergence from *Doctrina-Didache* sequences, it is virtually limited to 19.3-12 (the Light catalog). But why should we assume that the Two Ways had a rigidly fixed order of phrases within the over-all pattern? The Eighteen Benedictions was frequently extemporized within the bounds of its outline. As late as Hippolytus instructions for prayer were followed by : "It is not, to be sure, necessary for anyone to recite the exact words that we have prescribed, by learning to say them by heart..."³ If the Two Ways had a Sitz in the life of the church where more or less extemporized versions could be used, then Barnabas' "chaotic order" would have a simple explanation; and it would show nothing except that his tradition was not yet strictly fixed.

Of more importance is the prominence of the Light-Darkness contrast which, to judge from 1QS, is central to the earliest form of the tradition. While the Life-Death dichotomy is known both to 1QS and Barnabas (20.1), the Light-Darkness antithesis so dominates Barnabas' Two Ways introduction (18.1-3) that it must be regarded as a mark of primitiveness. The manner in which 18.1-2 reveals the Two Spirits origin of the form is more significant still. Although 18.1-2 has domesticated the myth by absorbing the "Prince of Light" in "God," the mythological origins remain apparent in the plurality of angels in 18.1 and the sharply dualistic opposition of the two angelic groups.

Whatever the author of the epistle intended in taking up the Two

¹ Cf. Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 9 : "Thus of the three Christian forms of this Two Ways tradition, Barnabas 18-20 represents the most primitive offshoot from the ancient common stock ..."

² Cf. L.W. Barnard, "The Problem of the Epistle of Barnabas," *Church Quarterly Review*, 159 (1958), 219-21.

³ *Apostolic Tradition* 1. 10 trans. B.S. Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge, 1934).

Ways teaching into his "letter," the Two Ways tradition upon which he depends seems still to serve the function identified for IQS : it is an instrument of group identity, meant to separate "us" from "them." In 19.2 the recipients of the teaching are told :

Thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit; thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in the way of death; thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God; thou shalt hate all hypocrisy.¹

Such a rule is reminiscent of IQS 1.9-10 : "love all the sons of light... but hate all the sons of darkness."

That the function of the Two Ways teaching in Barnabas' source appears to be the same as that of the Two Spirits in IQS would encourage the suggestion of a common Sitz : an initiatory setting.

3. *Doctrina*. Although the Doctrina is probably our best guide to the Two Ways tradition that was most widely known in ancient times, it has nothing substantial to add to what we have found in Barnabas. Its primitiveness is guaranteed by the presence in the prologue of Two Angels, and by the characterization of the Two Ways as being "of Light and Darkness" (although their additional characterization as "of Life and Death" shows movement toward ethicization).

4. *Didache*. The Didache is further advanced in the history of the tradition than any of the Christian examples examined in this study. The Angels/Spirits have disappeared from the very brief introduction. The Light-Darkness contrast has given way completely to that of Life-Death : "There are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death" (1.1). Indeed, neither *φῶς* nor *σκότος* appears in the Didache. The so-called "synoptic sayings" (1.3b-4), the most distinctively Christian passage in the early Two Ways tradition, is another sign of lateness. Further, the eschatological tone is reduced, although portions of the eschatological conclusion are probably preserved in Did. 16.

Relatively demythologized and ethicized, the Two Ways passage in the Didache appears better formed to serve the simple function of ethical instruction and less useful as an instrument of community identity. Yet, such a saying as the positive admonition to seek the companionship of the saints in 4.2 may represent a muted concern

¹ Barnabas and the Didache are quoted in the formal style of Kirsopp Lake's translation of *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. I, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, 1912). Its somewhat archaic flavor calls attention to such matters as the "table of commandments" format of this passage; see below, p. 18).

for community consciousness appropriate to a movement which is more established and self-confident.

With respect to Sitz, the Didache has been the cornerstone of the argument for an original initiatory setting for the Christian Two Ways. Did. 7.1 reads : "Concerning baptism, baptize thus : *Having first rehearsed all these things*, baptize in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."¹ Although 6.3, the saying about forbidden foods, formally stands between the Two Ways teaching and the instruction about baptism, I think 7.1 must be allowed to define the use of 1-6. The fact that the food regulation is specifically related to pagan worship would make its inclusion appropriate for baptismal instruction.

5. *General Statement : Primary Sitz of The Form.* The Christian Two Ways tradition is not a creation of the second century church. Rather, it stands in continuity with a Jewish Two Spirits/Ways tradition.

In early Christianity the Two Spirits/Ways form had its primary (but not exclusive)² Sitz in relation to initiation. The progressive ethicizing of the genre was a process which had already begun in Judaism. Some indicators of ethicization include : (1) the ascendancy of the Ways motif over the Spirits motif, (2) the prominence of the Life-Death dichotomy at the expense of the Light-Darkness tension, and (3) the general obscuring of the mythological roots of the tradition. In Christian sources, a mutation within the form may be related to this process ; the catalog of "virtues" tends to move in the direction of a table of commandments. However, ethicizing is not proof of separation from an initiatory setting. In favor of the initiatory setting are the following considerations :

¹ Audet, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-62, omits the underlined words, largely because of their absence from the Apostolic Constitutions. But Apostolic Constitutions has so greatly expanded the saying about food that the omission proves nothing but the inappropriateness of these words in the later document.

² It is obvious that the form can be transferred to other settings. The most exasperating document containing Two Ways material is the Shepherd of Hermas, the vexed question of whose relationship to the Didache is probably a false issue. Hermas' affected and haphazard style is such that one frequently feels in the presence of an alien block, but is never safe in assuming it. That the author was immersed in the Two Ways tradition is clear. The most important of the Two Ways passages is *Mandate 6*, which probably has been influenced by some form of the Prodicus fable, but owes its basic content to the early mythological form of our tradition. In its present form, *Mandate 6* is a decorative bit of moral rhetoric.

- (1) The direct evidence of the Didache.
- (2) Evidence for baptism as *one* Sitz of the double catalog in the New Testament.
- (3) The expectation of continuity of the primary setting for a genre, unless there are compelling reasons for suggesting discontinuity. 1QS 3.13-4.26 is most easily understood as initiatory instruction. In addition to the Didache, at least the later Egyptian forms understood the Two Ways as baptismal catechesis. While the evidence from Barnabas is not unambiguous, the form preserved there maintains a function appropriate to the initiatory setting.

V. *The Two Ways and Early Christianity*

The Two Ways is too often put forward as a prime exhibit of the "degeneracy" of the Christian movement in the postapostolic era. Supposedly it is an example of the repressive moralizing of the spontaneous faith of the earliest church. A great deal of our understanding of the early church is a product of the accidents of literary survival. One of those accidents is that our most direct access to the Two Ways tradition in Christianity is provided by documents from a period of transition, when charismatic leadership and collective myths were giving way to more formalized leadership and a system of doctrine and norms.

The view that the Two Ways tradition is a product of that transition no longer seems to me to be possible. The genre's function in intensifying in-group/out-group consciousness and its relation to the social myth of the elect community point to its origin in sectarian Judaism and appropriation in Christianity at a considerably earlier stage. Put another way, the Two Ways pattern does not serve the orthodox-heterodox distinction that is characteristic of a movement on the brink of institutionalization; rather, it serves the distinction between "we" and "they" in terms of which the movement can establish its youthful identity. That the tradition could be adapted to serve the community's needs during and after the transition to a stable institutional existence is shown by the various manuals to which it became attached. Such adaptation does not make of it an aberration. It may rather be a legitimate extension of a form which is the product of primitive Christianity's pronounced ethical concern.

Indeed, the deprecation of the tradition's "moralizing" tendency may only be left over from a too simplistic understanding of the

early church. T. F. Torrance regards it as a "Judaistic development" and thinks that reliance on a pre-Christian Jewish source might help "to account for such a maltreatment of the New Testament Gospel and ethic so near to its historical source."¹ From the context it is clear that Torrance has the Two Ways section in mind when he declares that the Didache "misunderstands also the fundamental character of the Gospel message as grace and freedom."² But that judgment needs to be read in the light of a revealing footnote.

It was only after the circulation of Paul's epistles gave the Churches an opportunity study the N.T. Gospel that its real implications came to be grasped, as in Irenaeus. But meantime the whole Church had become thoroughly moralistic. Some of the implications of the Gospel, grace particularly, were never recovered till the Reformation.³

So, the New Testament Gospel = the Pauline kerygma = the Protestant interpretation of Paul! Until that equation is eliminated a balanced understanding of the development of the early church is not likely to emerge. In effect, Paul has become the norm which judges every manifestation of primitive and emergent Christianity.

But no one really believes that early Christianity was so simple. The New Testament is the repository of many kerygmas, not one. What those kerygmas had in common was a resurrection base. And in consequence the New Testament offers abundant evidence of the church's struggle to avoid a happy mysticism out of touch with historical and ethical roots.

On one side, the genius of Christianity is its strongly ethical character. The Two Ways tradition serves that side of the Christian message in its manner of defining community identity. It does so in a fashion that certainly could be adapted to Pauline parenesis.⁴ But, quite apart from possible Pauline adaptation, the Two Ways stands on its own as a witness to the place of obedience in the early church's message. I do not doubt myself that its earliest use was in Hellenistic *Jewish* Christian circles. If so, it probably was more "moralistic" than Torrance's Gospel, *perhaps* even more than Matthew's. Still, any group of early Christians for whom the beginning of the Way of Life is love of God and love of neighbor should not be reckoned far from the Kingdom!

¹ *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1948), p. 38.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 136, n. 2.

⁴ See above, p. 69.

PSEUDEPIGRAPHY AND THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

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INTRODUCTION

Pseudepigraphy, equivalent to pseudonymity, is the false ascription of a writing by one means or another to some one other than the actual author. This attribution, designed to deceive, is usually to some noted person, as a rule of the past, in order to borrow the authority and prestige which the real author does not himself possess, or it may be to some one whom we might consider to be legendary, or possibly to a divinity. It is allied to the use of a pen name, whereby a writer, in order to cloak his own identity, may use a fictitious name, or an alias. Ghost writing, by which a more or less noted person engages a writer to compose a speech, autobiography, or some other writing which he himself will present under his own name is a reversal of the usual type.

Pseudepigraphy, as is well known, is an ancient, though not honorable, literary device, widely practiced by the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, both of the homeland and of the diaspora, and in time by the Christians. It is utilized in our own time, and no doubt will continue in use long beyond our days. Perhaps the oldest known example is the legal code associated with the Babylonian king Hammurabi (1792-1750 B.C.). Inscribed on a large diorite stone, it is headed by a bas-relief depicting the sun god, Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, seated on his throne, delivering the code (which in part is based upon previous codes) to the king standing before him, thereby implying divine authorship. Similarly, Yahweh presented the Ten Commandments to Moses, according to the Biblical accounts. With reference to early Christianity, the opening verse of Revelation ascribes this New Testament book to divine origin : "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show unto his servants, even

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the things which must shortly come to pass : and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John."

TECHNIQUES OF PSEUDEPIGRAPHY

The simplest technique of pseudepigraphy is the interpolation of material, whether very brief or of some length, into the work or works generally accepted as being the authentic writing of an author. Deliberate textual alterations, such as changes of wording or additions, are commonplace methods, but all too frequently are difficult to differentiate from unintentional scribal errors. Deliberate deletions, much more difficult to identify, also come under the heading of textual alterations. A few of the many examples of interpolations are : Isaiah 24-27; the pericope of the adulterous woman in John 7.53-8.11; the resurrection appearances added after Mark 16.8 to "complete" this gospel; chapters 1-2 and 15-16 of II Esdras, thereby "Christianizing" this Jewish apocryphon; letters falsely written and included in the Ignatian letter corpus; much of the "Western" text of Acts, which is about ten per cent longer than the "Neutral" text; and the very numerous obvious alterations in the texts of books of both the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Another familiar method is falsely to attribute a writing to some noted person merely by title, such as "The First Book of Moses" or "The First Epistle of John." This may be followed by an equally false ascription within the work itself, such as "The proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel," or "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James." In order to make the attribution somewhat more plausible some circumstantial details and purported bits of autobiography may be included within the text. For example, the author of II Peter claims that he was an eyewitness (i.e., Peter himself) of the transfiguration (1.16-19). Those who question the historicity of this purported theophany might consider its inclusion a disproof rather than a proof of Petrine authorship.

The apocryphal second century III Corinthians includes far more circumstantial details and incidents in order to prove apostolic authorship, but it is obviously written in Paul's name as a refutation of heresy, probably Marcionism. The Pastorals, I and II Timothy and Titus, were composed with greater skill. Many are still convinced of their authenticity, in whole or in part, but others of us consider

them, as is true of III Corinthians, to be second century refutations of Marcionism ascribed to Paul, whom the Marcionites had claimed as their own. They represent a very ingenious and probably most effective use of the art of pseudepigraphy.¹

A pseudepigraph becomes even more convincing when it imitates the vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, style, and views of the person to whom it is assigned as these are presented in a writing or writings generally considered to have been composed by him. This is true of Ephesians, which bears a close literary relationship to letters that were accepted as authentically Pauline, even though it is deficient in plausible autobiographical details. According to Goodspeed it was written in Paul's name as an introductory letter to a collection of Paul's letters, probably by the collector himself, which may have been "published" in Ephesus. It is seldom that we are able to identify a pseudepigrapher; however, John Knox, who accepts Goodspeed's "Ephesians theory," strongly suggests that the author of Ephesians was the Onesimus of Philemon, who, conceivably, was the same Onesimus who became the bishop of Ephesus. It was this collection, together with a gospel, which Marcion used as the Christian scripture (the first "New Testament") to replace the Jewish scripture.² Accordingly, if the Goodspeed-Knox reconstruction is correct, Ephesians, though a pseudepigraph, produced important though unforeseen results.

TEXTUAL ALTERATIONS

It is becoming increasingly evident that there were many textual variants in the text of the Hebrew scriptures; the same is true of the various Greek translations of the Hebrew books. Some portions are very literal, others very free, departing considerably from the Hebrew, and still others are somewhere between these two extremes. Moreover, there were differences among the Greek versions used by the Christians. Origen, acutely aware of these variants, produced his monumental Hexapla, with six parallel columns for the sake

¹ Martin Rist, "Pseudepigraphic Refutations of Marcionism", *Journal of Religion*, 22 (1942), 39-62, and *idem*, "III Corinthians as a Pseudepigraphic Refutation of Marcionism", *The Iliff Review*, 26 (1969), 49-58.

² Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Key to Ephesians* (Chicago, 1956). See also Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Meaning of Ephesians* (Chicago, 1933), and John Knox, *Philemon among the Letters of Paul* (Chicago 1935).

of comparison : (1) the Hebrew text current in his day, (2) a transliteration of this text into Greek letters, (3) Aquila's literal translation into Greek, (4) Symmachus' literary version, (5) Origen's revision of the Septuagint, and (6) Theodotion's version, related to the Septuagint rather than directly from the Hebrew. Later, Jerome compared the Greek of Aquila with the Hebrew scrolls "to see if from hatred to Christ the synagogue has changed the text," and, he added, he had found "several variations" of this type (Letter 32 to Marcella).

Jerome, of course, was as acutely aware of the textual variations in the New Testament as he was of those in the Old Testament. In his *Preface* to the Vulgate version of the Four Gospels, addressed to Damasus, he noted :

For if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us which; for there are almost as many forms of texts as there are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident, but ignorant, critics, and further, all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake?

To be sure, he must also have been well aware that the "original Greek" was also textually corrupt.

The pitfalls awaiting the translator were not unknown to the ancients. The grandson of Jesus ben Sirach stated apologetically in his preface to his translation of his grandfather's book of wisdom (Ecclesiasticus) : "For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force to them when they are translated into another tongue." Jerome, in defending himself against the charge that he had falsified the original when he translated a letter by Epiphanius from Greek into Latin stated that he followed an accepted method of translation, not translating word for word but sense for sense (Letter 57, to Pammachius).

Our earliest Christian witness of an awareness of deliberate changes that are made in the copying of manuscripts is the author of Revelation, around 96 A.D., who placed dreadful curses upon anyone who added to or took anything away from his book of prophecy, for God would add all of the plagues described in his book to the former and would deprive the latter of his share of the tree of life and of the holy city (Rev. 22.18-19). That this dreadful cursing colophon had a restraining effect upon copyists is doubtful. Marcion was accused by his "orthodox" critics of changing Paul's letters, and also

the gospels, to support his own views. Tertullian asked : "What Pontic mouse ever had such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the gospels to pieces?" (*Adv. Marc.* 1.1). Eusebius reported that Tatian had paraphrased statements by Paul in order to improve their style (*Hist. eccl.* 4.29.6). It is not impossible that he altered their meaning as well as their style. Dionysius of Corinth (late second century) in his *Letter to the Romans* complained that since some "apostles of the devil" (i.e., heretics) filled some of his own letters "with tares, cutting out some things and adding others," it is "not to be wondered at if some have attempted to adulterate the Lord's writings also" (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.12). No doubt the "heretics" also accused the "orthodox" of alterations of texts. Actually, Tertullian admitted as much when he observed : "It is indeed a necessary consequence that they should go so far as to say that adulterations of the scriptures, and false expositions thereof, are rather introduced by ourselves, inasmuch as they, no less than we, maintain that truth is on their side" (*De praescr. haer.* 18).

Rufinus, a contemporary of Jerome's, in his *Epilogue to Pamphilus* severely criticized the "heretics" (but not the orthodox) not only for changing the wording of the New Testament, inserting their own poisonous doctrines therein, but also for altering the writings of some of the fathers, including Clement and Origen, "either by inserting things which the writers had not said or by changing by interpolation what they had said." For an illustration he cited a letter by Origen who complained that following a discussion with a certain heretic the latter procured notes which had been transcribed during the conversation, and then "added or struck out what he chose, and changed things as he saw right, and published it abroad as his own work." Rufinus also cited a curious example of a heretic erasing the words "Homo Dominicus" from the manuscript of a book by Athanasius, and then proceeding to rewrite the erased words in the same place. As a result, those who read this particular manuscript were convinced that these were not Athanasius' actual words, but that he had used a phrase which had been erased and another phrase substituted for it ("Homo Dominicus", which Athanasius had originally written!). Again it, is safe to assume that the "heretics" were by no means the only Christians of the time who deliberately altered the text of manuscripts to their own advantage.

Rufinus set forth certain canons of copying manuscripts, adjuring every copyist "that he should neither add nor take away, that he should

neither insert nor change anything in that which is written, but that he should compare his copy with that from which it is copied and correct it critically letter for letter, and that he should not keep by him a copy that has not received correction or criticism, lest, if his copy is not distinct, the difficulty may beget a still greater obscurity in the minds of the readers." These excellent canons for a scribe should, with modifications of course, apply to a translator. However, by his own admission to say nothing of accusations made by his critics, Rufinus was not very scrupulous as a translator, for, so he admitted, in translating Origen's *De principiis* he had taken certain liberties with the original, for his "principle was not to set down in my translation things evidently contrary to our beliefs and to the author's opinions as elsewhere expressed, but to pass them over as not genuine, but inserts by others." By this means he protected Origen's orthodoxy, saving him from himself.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

A complicated example of pseudepigraphy marked by interpolations both short and long is provided by the *Sibylline Oracles*, composed in Greek iambic hexameter verse, and ascribed to Sibyl, a legendary prophetess. Their origins are lost in historical obscurity. Heraclitus, as early as around 500 B.C., mentioned them, but with disapproval. More than one prophetess came to be identified with the Sibyl, and over a period of time many versions appeared. The *Oracles* were highly regarded, and were frequently consulted, even by persons in high position, for guidance. The official Roman copy in the Temple of Jupiter was destroyed by fire in 83 B.C. Three men were assigned to replace this copy with one thousand "authentic" verses gathered from different cities. Before long additional oracles, many political in nature, were absorbed into the collection. Accordingly, among the religious reforms instituted by Augustus in 13 B.C. was the correction of the official version. Later on Tiberius prevented the inclusion of additional oracles.

Beginning in the second century B.C. Hellenistic Jews, possibly of Alexandria, modified some of the oracles and added others of their own composition in order to promote Jewish propaganda in the Gentile world that was more or less hostile to the Jews. What could have been more effective than to cite oracles from the revered pagan

Sibyl warning gentiles and persuading them to be more favorably disposed towards the despised and hated Jews? This appeal to a pagan prophetess may have been diluted somewhat when one Jewish passage makes her a Hebrew prophetess, a daughter-in-law of Noah's (Book I, 330ff.). Clement of Alexandria was aware of this tradition, for he introduced an oracle with the statement: "Is it not manifestly from the prophetess of the Hebrews, who prophesies in the following manner?" (*Protrepticus* 6).

Following the example of the Jews, in their turn the Christians not only appropriated the Sibyl, but they also composed many oracles that were favorable to the despised and persecuted Christians. Hermas referred to her; Justin, Athenagoras, Tatian, Clement, Lactantius, and other apologists cited her as favoring Christianity. Clement, in fact, found support for his belief that the Christian God spoke through the Sibyl by stating that Paul had said: "Take also the Hellenic books, read the Sibyl, how it is said that God is one, and how the future is indicated" (*Stromata* 6.5). This is pseudepigraphy compounded, with a statement falsely ascribed to Paul in which he cites the Sibyl favorably!

The excessive tampering of the *Oracles* was by no means unknown. Lucian of Samosata, of the second century, related that an acquaintance of his, Theagenes, also known as Peregrinus (for a time he had been a Christian), stated that the Sibyl had predicted his (Theagenes') death (self immolation on a funeral pyre): "Theagenes, as I have been told by some of my friends, recently said that the Sibyl had made a prediction about this, in fact, he quoted the verses from memory" (*Peregrinus* 30), verses which Theagenes himself may have composed and ascribed to the Sibyl.

Celsus, a late second century critic of Christianity, said that not only did the Christians acknowledge the authority of the *Oracles* but that they also had "the presumption to include in her writings many impious things" (Origen, *Contra Cels.* 7.53). Origen, replying to this charge after the death of this able critic of Christianity, stated that Celsus had failed to identify these purported Christian interpolations. "He might have proved his assertion," Origen argued, "by producing some older copies which are free from the interpolations which he attributes to us; but he does not even justify his statement that these passages are of an impious nature." However, if Celsus had been living at the time he might well have produced the evidence that Origen requested. As a matter of fact, many of the oracles are

so thoroughly Christian in their nature that there can be no question that they are Christian interpolations.

II THESSALONIANS

Perhaps the earliest known reference to Christian pseudepigraphy is in II Thess. 2.1-2 : "Now we beseech you, brethren, touching the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him; to the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, that the day of the Lord is just at hand." If the authenticity of II Thessalonians is assumed, then Paul is referring to a false letter written in his name containing teachings about the coming of the Lord which were contrary to what he himself had taught.

However, it is possible that II Thessalonians is, itself, pseudonymous. First of all, so the argument goes, there is an inconsistency between the belief in the coming of the Lord in I Thessalonians and that which is stressed in II Thessalonians. In the former the Lord is to come without any preliminary warning, as a "thief in the night" (5.2) while his (Paul's) readers are still alive. In the latter, there will be two advance warnings, the "falling away" first, and then the appearance of the "lawless one" (2.1-12). Accordingly, the latter may have been written in Paul's name some time after his death to account for the delay of the second advent. Its purpose, then, was similar to that of II Peter 3.1-13, to answer the question of the scoffers : "Where is the promise of his coming?" (3.4).

To be sure, save for chapter 2.1-12, II Thessalonians is much like I Thessalonians in both its language and thought. This resemblance may be cited in favor of its authenticity. However, the similarities are so close that some believe II Thessalonians (save for 2.1-12) is almost a slavish reproduction of the other letter, that the writer (not Paul) more or less copied the genuine letter. Furthermore, as Enslin acutely observed, the warmth and affection displayed in I Thessalonians is absent from the other letter, which has a far cooler tone, indicating that the author, unlike Paul, was not writing to a church which he personally knew and loved.¹ If indeed II Thessalonians is pseudonymous, then it is possible that the author intended to cast doubt upon the authenticity of I Thessalonians, that *it* was

¹ See Morton Scott Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York, 1938), pp. 239-244.

the letter mentioned in 2.2 falsely purporting to have been by Paul! This, if true, is indeed a paradox, that a pseudepigraph composed in Paul's name was written to reject one of his authentic letters!

JEROME

Jerome actually exposed a forgery that was published in his name. He wrote that he had been informed that a letter purporting to be from him had circulated during a meeting of African bishops. In this letter he was alleged to have stated: "I professed penitence and confessed that it was through the influence of the press in my youth that I had been led to turn the scriptures into Latin from the Hebrew." He denied that he had written this letter, indeed, he said that it was impossible for the forger, whoever he was, to imitate his own characteristic style and manner of writing. He evidently believed that Rufinus (who, as we know, was a critic of those who falsified documents) had composed the suspected letter. Rufinus denied this charge, but Jerome was apparently unconvinced, for he said that it was in Rufinus' elegant style which no one else could copy (*Apologia* 3.25).

CYPRIAN AND TERTULLIAN

The insertion of a writing into a collection of works of an author is, as previously noted, a common practice. Rufinus stated that the collection of Cyprian's letters was usually contained within a single manuscript. However, certain heretics, in order to gain the support of Cyprian for some of their false doctrines, inserted into the Cyprianic corpus of letters a treatise by Tertullian *De Trin.* in which doctrine was faultily expressed, thus passing it off as Cyprian's. Many copies with this insertion were made; these were circulated in Constantinople at a very low price, so that they were bought up, "and thus the heretics found means of gaining credit for their impious doctrines through the authority of a great name" (*Epilogue to Pamphilus*).

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

There were numerous gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses composed by the early Christians which were not included in the twenty-

seven book canon of the New Testament, although some were favorably regarded. There were evidently several criteria for inclusion in the canon of a given book or collection of books. One was its traditional use by what came to be called the Catholic church; another was its "orthodoxy", according to Catholic doctrines; a third was the belief of its authorship by an apostle or one of the apostolic group. In order finally to be included a book had to meet all three of these criteria.

The so-called Muratorian Canon lists the books which were acceptable as scripture in the church of Rome around 200 A.D. and some that were to be rejected. The statement that I and II Timothy and Titus were to be accepted, for they "have been honored by the ordinances of the discipline of the Catholic church," indicates that whereas there might have been some question about them, usage made them acceptable. However, with reference to certain other writings attributed to Paul the Muratorian Canon averred: "There is also extant an epistle to the Laodiceans and another to the Alexandrians which were forged under the name of Paul for the heresy of Marcion," which cannot be received, for "gall cannot be mixed with honey." We are not told why these were considered to have been forged, but it is evident that since they were considered to be heretical they were rejected.

The fragmentary Gospel of Peter, which uses all four of our canonical gospels as major sources, claimed to be by Peter ("But I, Simon Peter, etc."). It apparently was composed around 150 A.D. and evidently gained some acceptance as an authentic gospel written by Peter by some Christians, among them certain members of the church at Rhossus near Antioch. Serapion, who became the bishop of Antioch in 191 A.D., visited the church, which was in dispute about this gospel. Without having read the gospel, he ill advisedly said, "Let it be read" (i.e., used). However, later on, having had an opportunity to read it, he said in a letter to the church, which he planned to visit again, that although it contained many things in accord with the true doctrine of the church (for it was, in part, based upon the Four Gospels), it also contained some heretical doctrines, especially Docetism. Therefore, he could not approve its use. He introduced his letter by stating: "For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ; but we reject intelligently the writings falsely ascribed to them, knowing that they were not handed down to us" (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.3-6).

Paul wrote in II Corinthians 12.1-4 that he was caught up into the third heaven, or paradise, where he heard "unspeakable words which it is not lawful for man to utter." Despite this prohibition, at the end of the fourth century an Apocalypse of Paul appeared in which Paul not only reportedly describes what he saw in the third heaven, but relates what he heard. We may wonder why a book which was not known until this late date gained acceptance as a work by Paul? The answer to this query is ingenious. Its preface states that in the reign of Theodosius (379-95) an angel appeared to a man of Tarsus who lived in the house which purportedly had been Paul's. The angel told him to dig in the foundation of the house and to publish the book which he would find there. After three such angelic visits and a scourging by the angel the man reluctantly obeyed the angel. He dug into the foundation, where he found a sealed marble box, which he took to the emperor. After he opened the box the emperor found a book inside, in which Paul related what he had seen and heard while in the third heaven. He had a copy of this book sent to Jerusalem.

By this means a book purportedly by Paul was allegedly found over two centuries after his death and was distributed with the stamp of the emperor's approval. The historian Sozomen doubted the account of its discovery, stating that he was informed by an aged priest at Tarsus that it was a lie, that no such incident had occurred at Tarsus, and that the tale (or the book) had been made up by heretics. Sozomen noted that while the book was commended by most of the monks, none of the ancients had ever seen it (*Hist. eccl.* 7.19). Augustine considered it to be a book full of fables; he questioned that Paul would have revealed what was "not lawful for a man to disclose" (*On John*, Tract 98). The story reminds us of Joseph Smith's account of the finding of the *Book of Mormon*.

Catholic writers were all too ready to label books ascribed to the apostles which heretics held in esteem as unauthentic. Eusebius, for example, rejected "the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Mathias, or of any others besides" first of all because they are not mentioned by "the succession of ecclesiastical writers," next, because "the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6). Cyril of Jerusalem claimed that the Gospel of Thomas was actually

by a follower of Manes (*Catechesis* 6.31 ; 4.30), and Epiphanius asserted that certain Egyptian Gnostics had "produced a gospel forged in the name of Philip the holy disciple" (*Panarion* 26).

Eusebius related the strange tale of an Acts of Pilate which he claimed was forged in his own day by the Romans as part of their propaganda in their persecution of the Christians : "Having forged, therefore, the Acts of Pilate, full of every blasphemy against Christ, they sent them with the emperor's approval to the whole empire subject to him, with written commands that they should be openly posted in the view of all in every place, both in country and in city, and that schoolmasters should give them to their scholars in place of their customary lessons and to be learned by heart" (*Hist. eccl.* 9.5.1 ; 7.1). This ancient example of brainwashing occurred shortly before 313 A.D. (9.10.12). In another passage (1.9, 2-3) Eusebius said that this Acts was fraudulent by reason of an anachronism, for it placed the passion of Jesus under Pilate in the fourth year of the consulship of Tiberius and the seventh year of his reign, whereas, if Josephus' chronology is correct Pilate did not become procurator of Judea until the twelfth year of the emperor's reign.

On the other hand Eusebius (as well as Justin and Tertullian) quite uncritically accepted the authenticity of an alleged communication by Pilate to Tiberius relating the reports that were current about the resurrection of Jesus and other wonders as well. Tiberius was said to have referred this matter to the Senate which, however rejected it (*Hist. eccl.* 2.2.1-2 ; cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 5, Justin, I *Apologia* 35 and 48).

QUESTIONS ABOUT CANONICAL BOOKS

Questions were raised from time to time about some of the books that are now in the New Testament. Some doubt, perhaps, is implied by the absence of the Pastorals from the third century Chester Beatty papyrus of Paul's letters. Certain of the so-called Catholic epistles experienced some difficulty in being included in the canon. Eusebius stated that James and Jude were both disputed because not many of the "ancients" had mentioned them (*Hist. eccl.* 2.23.25), which may imply that they were not considered to be authentic. Jerome said that Jude was rejected by many because it "quotes from the apocryphal book of Enoch" (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 4 ; cf. Jude 14-15), apparently Jude would not have cited this uncanonical book. Even

so, because of its age and usage it was accepted as scripture. The book of James, so Jerome also reported, "is claimed by some to have been published by some one in his name, and gradually, as time went on, to have gained authority" (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 2). Assuming, of course, that I Peter was authentic, Jerome stated that II Peter "on account of its difference from the first in style is considered by many" not to have been written Peter (*Ibid.* 1). He added that Peter's Gospel, Preaching, and Revelation are apocryphal.

The criterion of literary style was also applied to Hebrews in order to determine whether its ascription to Paul was valid. Clement of Alexandria believed that it was indeed the work of Paul, but that the apostle had written it in Hebrew (Aramaic?), which Luke translated into Greek, similar to the Greek of Acts, thereby accounting for its style, which differs from that of Paul's letters which were originally written in Greek (cited by Eusebius *Hist. ecc.* 6.14.2). Eusebius also stated that Paul had written Hebrews in his native tongue, but that Luke or Clement of Rome had translated it into Greek. He preferred Clement, because of certain similarities between his letter to Rome and Hebrews (3.38.2-3). The Latin father Tertullian suggested that Barnabas was the author (*De pud.* 20), and Augustine, much later, stated that many thought the author was either Barnabas or Clement (*Epistolae* 129).

Origen, in his *Homilies*, observed "that the verbal style of the epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews' is not rude, like the language of the apostle." Moreover, "the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by this teacher." Accordingly, he added: "not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's." Some believed that Clement of Rome composed it, others Luke, but Origen himself stated that "who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows," that is, God alone can identify who it was who reproduced Paul's thoughts (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25. 11-14).

Tertullian expressed a similar view concerning the authorship of the gospels of Mark and Luke. "The first, which was published by Mark may also be maintained to be Peter's, whose interpreter he was; for the narrative of Luke is also generally ascribed to Paul; since it is allowed that that which pupils publish should be regarded as their master's work" (*Adv. Marc.*, 4.5).

The Greek Christians were the more ready to accept Hebrews as

being by Paul, either directly or indirectly. However, the Roman church was more reluctant to consider it as authentic. Eusebius himself admits this : "It is not indeed right to overlook the fact that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is disputed by the church of Rome on the ground that it was not written by Paul" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.3.5).

Paradoxically, a New Testament book, the Gospel of John, which presents the Logos doctrine in its prologue (1.1-18) was rejected as heretical by the Alogoi, who, as their name indicates, disavowed the Logos doctrine. In order to make their rejection the more valid they also denied its generally accepted apostolic authorship, and stigmatized it by averring that it was written by Cerinthus, a Gnostic heretic of about 100 A.D. (Epiphanius *Panarion* 50. 4). The author of the Muratorian Canon, apparently aware of doubt concerning the Gospel of John, stated that when his fellow disciples and bishops urged John to write a gospel, he replied that after they all had fasted three days each should report what was revealed to him. Andrew said that during the night it had been revealed to him that John should write a gospel, but that all should go over it.

The Alogoi also refused to accept Revelation as apostolic, assigning it along with the Gospel and the Johannine epistles to Cerinthus. Others also, according to Dionysius of Alexandria, set Revelation aside because its "title is fraudulent." He also cited the belief that Cerinthus was its author, but had attached the name of John to it, "desiring reputable authority for his fiction" (cited by Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 7.25.1-2; 3.28.3-4), which is the basic reason for most pseudepigraphy.

Dionysius did not accept the attribution of Revelation to Cerinthus, nor did he believe that it was written by the apostle John, whom he believed to have been the actual author of the gospel and epistles bearing his name. Basing his judgment upon a literary comparison, he stated that in form, content, views, diction, and the use of the Greek language, the Apocalypse differed greatly from them. Indeed, "The Apocalypse is different from these writings and foreign to them; not touching or in the least bordering on them; almost, so to speak without even a syllable in common with them" (cited by Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 7.25.1-27). It is all but impossible to disagree with his conclusion. He stated that the work was not pseudonymous, but was probably written by a certain John, possibly a resident of Ephesus, and that in time it was erroneously ascribed to John the Apostle.

In concluding this section it might be noted that since no book was finally accepted into our present twenty-seven book Canon unless it was thought to have been by an apostle, or by one of their disciples, possibly about two-thirds of them are actually pseudonymous. I Corinthians is by far the best attested, for it is cited as a letter of Paul's to the church at Corinth by Clement of Rome, around the end of the first century, in his letter to the same church (I Clement 47). Apparently II Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, and Philemon are authentic. Moreover, if we overlook its ascription to God, Revelation may also bear the name of its actual author (a certain John but not the apostle). Accordingly, nine of the books, at most, are authentic. In my opinion the ascription by one means or another of the other eighteen to apostolic authorship is indeed dubious at best. This, alone, shows the influence of speudepigraphy in the early church.

SUSANNA

Dionysius' critique of the accepted authorship of Revelation takes second place to Julius Africanus' disclosure of the pseudonymous authorship of Susanna, traditionally attributed to Daniel, which he outlined in a letter, composed about 240 A.D., to Origen. He, first of all, accepted the belief that Daniel wrote the book bearing his name; it is too much to expect that he would have believed otherwise. He informed Origen, possibly not too tactfully, that he could not see how the spurious nature of Susanna could have escaped Origen's notice, for it was plainly a "modern forgery."

To support his judgment, Africanus observed that whereas in Daniel the prophet prophesied by the means of visions and dreams, or through the agency of an angel who appeared to him, in Susanna "Daniel" was seized by the spirit, whereupon he cried out that the sentence against Susanna was unjust. Moreover, whereas Daniel was written in Hebrew (we know that part of it is in Aramaic), Susanna must have been composed in Greek, because it contains two Greek plays on words which are impossible in Hebrew. Furthermore, in Daniel the Jews are miserable captives of the Babylonians, but in Susanna they are represented as having enough political power to be able to pass a sentence of death upon Susanna. In addition, her husband, Joakim, although he was a captive Jew, is depicted as being

wealthy and living in luxury. How could this have been the case? To add to the evidence, the book of Susanna was not accepted as authentic by the Jews (i.e., it was not in the Hebrew canon). Finally, contrary to prophetic usage, the "Daniel" of the suspected book is made to quote from another prophet (Moses): "The innocent and the righteous you shall not slay" (Ex. 23.7). On the basis of the weight of the evidence Africanus was certain that Susanna was falsely ascribed to Daniel. However, as we learn from Origen's labored response, Africanus was unable to convince the great biblical scholar.

SALVIAN'S "TO THE CHURCH."

There is little evidence that the early Christians were sensitive to the ethical implications of pseudepigraphy, a literary deception, save as they accused their opponents of using this misleading artifice. However, the ethical question was raised around 440 A.D. when a work appeared which began: "Timothy, the least of the servants of God, to the Catholic Church spread throughout the world." It was highly critical of the wealth and luxury of the church and advocated the giving of alms. Since it was so artlessly composed it was readily exposed and its author identified as Salvian. Accordingly, Bishop Saloniun called upon Salvian for an explanation.

Salvian tacitly admitted that he was the author. He tried to minimize the falsification by saying that the contents of the work were more important than the name of the author. He said that he did not use his own name in order to avoid "the vanity of worldly glory in all things." Furthermore, and this is somewhat at variance with what he had previously stated, he had not used his own name for he was so insignificant that to do so would detract from the authority of his work. He had not written in the name of Timothy, one of the apostolic group, for had he done so he would have been guilty of falsehood. Instead, so he averred, he chose the name Timothy, because (as he translated the word) it meant "the honor of God," and he wrote for the honor of God.¹ That is, he had not used the name of an actual person, but he was using what we today would call a "pen name."

¹ Alfred E. Haefner, "A Unique Source for the Study of Ancient Pseudepigraphy", *Anglican Theological Review*, 16 (1934), 8-15, and Edgar J. Goodspeed, *New Chapters in New Testament Study* (New York, 1937), pp. 186-88.

His apology is somewhat specious and contradictory. But it is important to note that he believed that he was under obligation to explain to the bishop that he had not intended to deceive by writing under the name of some notable person of the past, that, to use our terminology, he was not guilty of using pseudepigraphy.

CONCLUSION

The early Christians, whether "orthodox" or "heretical," used pseudepigraphy frequently and for the most part unashamedly in order to promote their special views and doctrines. Numerous writings were attributed to the apostles and others of the apostolic period, to the apostolic fathers and the fathers who followed them, to Old Testament heroes, and even to pagans. Many of the falsifications went undetected, indeed, a considerable number were accepted into the Christian scripture, the New Testament. Not a few were suspect by reason of their "heretical" contents and associations, or because they had not traditionally been accepted in the church. The spurious ascription of some, notably Susanna, Hebrews, and Revelation, was exposed by the use of literary-historical criticism, but even these were accepted by most of the Christians, and in the cases of the three just mentioned, retained in the Bible. Scholars of modern times have been much more critical, to be sure, but even so no systematic attempt to survey the practice of the literary artifice of pseudepigraphy by the early church has been made; this paper is, obviously, but a beginning.

Addendum: The above was written some months before the publication of Bruce M. Metzger's instructive article, "Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 91 (1972), pp. 3-24.

PROVERBS IN THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

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This essay will study the form and function of proverbial speech in the Gospel of Thomas. Comparison with the Synoptics will be a central task, but the purpose of the paper is not to study the history of the tradition, nor will it be possible to make comparisons with other forms of these sayings in Early Christian Literature. The paper will simply observe how proverbial speech forms are used in the Gospel of Thomas. The paper will first examine two forms which grow out of proverbial speech, but are used in wider contexts : the makarism and the saying in the form, "whoever..." Then it will study the proverbs in Thomas. In conclusion, it will prove instructive to compare the thrust of Thomas' use of these forms with that of the Synoptics. The topic is important from the fact that proverbial speech does play a significant role in a gnostic document; on the whole, the writings in the Nag Hammadi collection are in other forms, though some, such as the Gospel of Philip, like this one contain a sizeable number of proverbs.

One important form originating in proverbial tradition, but coming to be used as prophetic speech, is the makarism or beatitude.¹ Thomas contains a portion of the makarism collection which appears in Matt. 5 and Luke 6 in different forms.

Saying 54 : Jesus said : Blessed are the poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹ I have not attempted to give detailed references to the many works on the Gospel of Thomas which have thrown light on these sayings. Particularly concentrating on the proverbial sayings is Helmut Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi", in James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 126-43, and "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", on pp. 179-84 of the same book. On the makarism in the Synoptics, see Georg Strecker, "Die Makarismen der Bergpredigt", *New Testament Studies*, 17 (1970-71), 255-75. Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. J. Marsh (New York and Evanston, 1963), pp. 69-108 is basic for the study of proverbial sayings in early Christianity. Within the present article, references to the Gospel of Thomas are cited according to the text of A. Guillaumont *et al.*, *The Gospel according to Thomas* (New York and Evanston, 1959).

- Saying 68 : Jesus said : Blessed are you when you are hated and persecuted ; and no place will be found there where you have been persecuted.
(Or, *read*, you will find a place, where you will not be persecuted.)
- Saying 69a : Jesus said : Blessed are those who have been persecuted in their heart ; these are they who have known the Father in truth.
- Saying 69b : Jesus said : Blessed are the hungry, for the belly of him who desires will be filled.

Sayings 54 and 69b are similar in thrust to their Lucan parallels. Saying 68 has undergone an expansion in comparison with Synoptic parallels, but its meaning is unclear. Noteworthy is Saying 69a, in which the emphasis on inwardness, "persecuted in their heart," and "knowing in truth," in the past tense, appears, although "poor in heart" did not appear in Saying 54.

Saying 79 combines makarisms which are found in different Synoptic contexts (Luke 11.27-28 ; Luke 23.29). In Saying 103, what appears in the Synoptics as a similitude is presented in condensed makarism form. In Thomas the emphasis is not on watching because not knowing the hour, but on blessedness because of knowing the hour.

Thomas also contains a number of sayings in the makarism form which are not paralleled in the Synoptics.

- Saying 7 : Jesus said : Blessed is the lion which the man eats and the man will become a lion ; and cursed is the man whom the lion eats and the man will become a lion (following a probable emendation).

The saying probably warns against the danger of being swallowed up by the flesh (cf. Saying 60). The tendency to round out sayings with a parallelism (lion/man ; man / lion) is quite typical of Thomas.

- Saying 18b : Blessed is he who shall stand at the beginning, and he shall know the end and he shall not taste death.

The makarism completes a saying about the coincidence of beginning and end ; discovery of self takes place through discovery of origin.

- Saying 19a : Jesus said : Blessed is he who was before he came into being.

This is another saying about origin.

- Saying 49 : Jesus said : Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you shall find the Kingdom ; because you came from it, and you shall go there again.

Like the above, this saying suggests that "finding" is a process of clarifying who one is, and one's origin.

Saying 58 : Jesus said : Blessed is the man who has suffered, he has found the Life.

Interpretation is complicated by the fact that the Coptic word **ⲉⲓϥⲉ** can mean either "suffer" (which would bring the passage into relation to such passages as James 1.12 and I Pet. 3.14), or "labor," which would make it closer to Matt. 11.28-30; cf. Saying 90.¹ In either case the saying sets forth a direct line of connection rather than a paradoxical relation between the two halves of the saying. The "finding" is in the past tense rather than expectation.

Another speech form derived from wisdom but used as prophetic speech is the type of saying beginning "whoever", or "the one who." This is a favorite Coptic formulation, the relative substantive, **ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ**, **ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛ**, etc., and represents more than one form of Greek saying. **ὅς ἄν** or **ὅστις ἄν** or a participle would be typical Greek formulations; the former is relatively frequent in the LXX of Proverbs though virtually absent from Sirach.² In the LXX of Proverbs, this form in turn usually represents a Hebrew proverb in which the two members of the sentence are participles. (Prov. 3.12; 9.4, 12a; 10.9, etc.) Also in the Synoptic Gospels this form appears as proverbial (Mark 9.40, He who is not against us is for us; Mark 4.25, To him that has shall be given; cf. Mark 10.15); but there it appears also in prophetic sayings (with **ⲡⲁⲥ**, Luke, 12.8) and in legal rules (Mt. 10.14).

As in the case of the makarisms, there are a number of sayings of this form in Thomas which are paralleled in the Synoptics.

Sayings 8, 21, 65, and 96 end with "whoever has ears to hear, let him hear," with minor variations. This is used as a conclusion to a parable in each case, while in Saying 24 this phrase introduces a saying. None of these sayings parallels a Synoptic usage of the sentence.

Saying 41 : Jesus said : Whoever has in his hand, to him shall be given; and whoever does not have, from him shall be taken even the little that he has.

In comparison with Mark 4.25//s, it is to be noted that Thomas has clarified how it is possible to take away from him who does not have. A similar clarification occurs in Luke 8.18 (what he thinks he has will be taken away from him).

¹ See R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (London, 1960), pp. 105f.

² Saying 82 appears in Greek beginning with a participle in Didymus on Ps. 88.

Saying 55 : Jesus said : Whoever does not hate his father and his mother will not be able to be a disciple to Me, and whoever does not hate his brethren and his sisters and does not take up his cross in My way will not be worthy of Me.

Saying 101 : Jesus said : Whoever does not hate his father and mother in My way will not be able to be a disciple to me. And whoever does not love his father and his mother in My way will not be able to be a disciple to be, for my mother [].

Saying 55 is close to the Synoptic versions; in Saying 101 the tendency of Thomas to introduce a balanced parallelism (hating balanced by loving) reduces the hyperbole of the saying, even though the lost ending makes detailed interpretation difficult.

Saying 94 : Jesus said : Whoever seeks will find ...

See below with Sayings 2 and 92.

We now note several sayings in this form which at best only very indirectly parallel Synoptic materials.

Saying 67 : Jesus said : Whoever knows the All but fails to know himself lacks everything.

This is a restatement of the widespread motif of "know thyself."

Saying 56 : Whoever has known the world has found a corpse, and whoever has found a corpse, of him the world is not worthy.

Saying 80 : (The same, except reading "body" for "corpse").

Saying 111b : Whoever finds himself, of him the world is not worthy.

Of these three sayings, the third is the clearest. It forms a striking contrast to the Synoptic saying about losing oneself, for here finding oneself, not losing oneself, is the key. The two previous sayings deal with recognizing or overcoming the (empty, dead) world.¹ Like 111b, they set forth their message in a consecutive sequence rather than through a paradoxical reversal, despite their strong assertion of opposition between world and self.

Saying 82 : Jesus said : Whoever is near to me is near to the fire, and whoever is far from me is far from the Kingdom.

This is an example of the "whoever" or "he who" saying used as the vehicle of an "I saying." It is apparently borrowed from a Greek proverb, which has been expanded in the balanced parallelism of near/far.

¹ See Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 122f.

Saying 105 : Jesus said : Whoever knows father and mother shall be called the son of a harlot.

One's true origin is not one's earthly parents. This is one of the relatively few cases where a distinctively Thomas saying assumes strikingly hyperbolic form.

Saying 110 : Jesus said : Whoever has found the world and become rich, let him deny the world.

The saying calls for a reversal of situation.

Saying 1 : And he said : Whoever finds the explanation of these words will not taste death.

Like so many of the previously considered sayings, this one emphasizes knowledge. The motif of seeking and finding is congenial to the point of view of Thomas, which despite the difficulty of finding and choosing life, thinks of it as a consecutive consequence of seeking.

We now turn to a group of sayings which, despite their diversity, can be classified as proverbial sayings.

Saying 4b : For many who are first shall become last and they shall become a single one.

The saying is applied to the familiar proverbial theme of the reversal of situation. But this original theme of the proverb (cf. Mark 10.31//s, Matt. 20.16) is overcome in the saying itself in which the antithetical parallelism of first/last, last/first has given way to the theme of the resolution of all such differences ("they shall become a single one").

Saying 5b : For there is nothing hidden which will not be manifest.

Saying 6b : For there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed and there is nothing covered that shall remain without being uncovered.

In its second occurrence, the saying supplements a conventional theme at home in the wisdom tradition : "all things are manifest before Heaven." In the preceding saying, it supplements a saying about self : knowledge, for that is how we take "know what is in thy sight, and what is hidden from thee will be revealed to thee." In Saying 5b, the proverb serves to round out a gnostic thought about looking into oneself to find true knowledge; in Saying 6b, it completes a widely-occurring conventional theme, the all-knowledge of God.

Saying 14b : For what goes into your mouth will not defile you, but what comes out of your mouth, that is what will defile you.

In Mark, this saying appears as the center of a controversy-discourse.¹ Here it has been joined to a saying derived from the tradition of the sending out of the disciples ("if they receive you, eat what they set before you"), which in turn expands a saying opposing external cultic observance which is developed out of the sayings about fasting, praying and giving alms which we know in the beginning of Matthew 6. The proverb is remembered because it reinforces the gnostic imperative to turn inward.

Saying 26 : Jesus said : The mote that is in thy brother's eye thou seest, but the beam that is in thine eye, thou seest not. When thou castest the beam out of thine eye, thou wilt see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.

The controversy-dialogue form in which this saying appears in Matt. 7.3-5, Luke 6.41-42 is to be contrasted to the more declarative, proverbial form with balanced parallelism, which the saying assumes here. In its Thomas form, the saying compels by the sheer logic of its statement, and by comparison with the Synoptic formulation, is strikingly less hyperbolic.

Saying 31 : Jesus said : No prophet is acceptable in his village, no physician heals those who know him.

The saying has been much discussed, since it presents in the form of a double-stranded *mashal* two themes which appear separately in the Synoptic tradition, but which are associated in Luke 4.23-24.² It is an example of the tendency of proverbial sayings in Thomas, when they are not transformed by a definite theological context, to manifest a concentration on formal structure.

Saying 32 : Jesus said : A city being built on a high mountain and fortified can not fall nor can it (ever) be hidden.

The combination of two motifs (security and visibility) in a single declarative statement is puzzling.³ It is not typical of the older, experience-centered *mashal* to move in two directions at once in this way.

Saying 33 : Jesus said : What thou shalt hear in thine ear (and) in the other ear, that preach from your housetops; for no one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden

¹ See Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75; Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi", pp. 129f.

³ See Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

place, but he sets it on the lampstand, so that all who come in and go out may see its light.

The second part of the saying, which is the proverb, is remembered as interpreting the command to "preach." In the proverbial saying itself, we notice the clarifying clause about the "hidden place," which serves to make more reasonable the paradoxical procedure of putting a lamp under a "bushel".

Saying 34 : Jesus said : If a blind man leads a blind man, both of them fall into a pit.

Here presented totally without context, the saying appears as a simple statement (like Matt. 15.14) rather than in the rhetorically more challenging form of Luke 6.39.¹

Saying 35 : Jesus said : It is not possible for one to enter the house of the strong man and take him (or, it) by force unless he bind his hands; then will he ransack his house.

Again we note the tendency toward simple declarative statement (here closer to Mark 3.27 than to Matt. 12.29).

Saying 36 : Jesus said : Take no thought from morning until evening and from evening until morning for what you shall put on.

Perhaps the elimination of other foci of care (food and drink), in comparison with the Synoptic version of the saying is related to the goal in other sayings in Thomas (Sayings 37,21) of becoming childlike to the extent of putting off one's clothing. The way in which the continuity of time is filled out (morning/evening, evening/morning) represents a tendency to work out the logical implications of the saying that is evident elsewhere in Thomas.

Saying 39b : But you, become wise as serpents and innocent as doves.

The proverb was apparently remembered because of its association with knowledge which is mentioned in the first part of Saying 39. The "secular marshal" which Bultmann recognized in Matthew appears here unchanged.²

Saying 40 : Jesus said : A vine has been planted without the Father and, as it is not established, it will be pulled up by its roots and be destroyed.

¹ On the Synoptic contexts, see Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Not strictly a proverbial saying, this is included here because in contrast to Matt. 15.13 (and even more with John 15.1-10), it represents a saying which focuses on the "logic" of the situation ("it is not established") rather than on the figure of the one who plants.

Saying 43b : ... but you have become as the Jews, for they love the tree, they hate its fruit and they love the fruit, they hate the tree.

Again, this is not strictly an independent proverb, but it is a proverb-like formulation. There are relatively few proverbial sayings like this which have no Synoptic parallel. (though it may be related to the saying about tree and fruit in Mt. 12.33, Luke 6.43-44), a fact which we shall have to try to assess in conclusion. It is worth noting that this is a saying which makes (an obscure) use of a contradictory contrast.

Saying 45a : Jesus said : They do not harvest grapes from thorns, nor do they gather figs from thistles ; for they give no fruit.

No doubt the saying finds its interpretation from the following saying about the good man and his treasure. Once more the tendency to explain logically ("for they give no fruit") is to be noted.

Saying 47a : Jesus said : It is impossible for a man to mount two horses and to stretch two bows, and it is impossible for a servant to serve two masters, otherwise he will honour the one and offend the other.

Haenchen is doubtless right that the whole of Saying 47 shows how important the choice between the Kingdom and the world to the group.¹

This is another of the relatively few cases where a proverbial saying not present in the Synoptic tradition appears. The second saying about the two masters displays a terseness of statement characteristic of Thomas' version of proverbial sayings. It is possible that the word translated "otherwise" (Coptic H , borrowed from Greek). is the remnant of a longer two-membered conclusion where it would have been half of "either... or."

Saying 47b : No man drinks old wine and immediately desires to drink new wine; and they do not put new wine into old wineskins, lest they burst, and they do not put old wine into a new wineskin, lest it spoil it. They do not sew an old patch on a new garment, because there would come a rent.

¹ Ernst Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomasevangeliums* (Berlin, 1961), p. 51.

This group of sayings clearly give the impression that the play between "new" and "old" was not closely derived from the everyday situation described in the proverbs, but was worked out within the logic of the sayings themselves, because the sayings illustrated the necessity of choice seen by Haenchen in the previous note. (The Synoptic versions of these sayings display something of the same tendency, especially Luke 5.36, tearing a piece from a new garment to patch an old one.)

Saying 62b : What thy right (hand) will do, let not thy left (hand) know what it does.

Here this saying is a command to the recipient of Jesus' mysteries to preserve them.

Saying 86 : Jesus said : The foxes have their holes and the birds have their nest, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head and rest.

With its explicit reference to "rest" the saying points up the contrast between the outer world and the inner realm where salvation is experienced.¹

Saying 93 : Jesus said : Give not what is holy to the dogs, lest they cast it on the dung heap. Throw not the pearls to the swine, lest they make it [].

On this saying, it is instructive to quote Wilson, who in turn presents a view of Bartsch : "the interpretation of the saying is no longer determined by the lesson it was meant to convey. It has become a proverb, and the explanatory additions are suggested by the saying itself, whereas in the Synoptic parables it is the lesson that is dominant, even to the point of producing such 'impossible' illustrations as those of the beam in the eye or the camel passing through the eye of the needle." Koester takes the opposite view, and holds that the saying has not "become" a proverb, but that Thomas' pure mashal comes from an earlier stratum than the Matthean form which is related to the situation of the church.² In any case, despite the appearance of the "beam in the eye" in Thomas, it is correct that the balanced mashal rather than extreme hyperbole is typical of Thomas.

Saying 92 : Jesus said : Seek and you will find, but those things which you asked me in those days, I did not tell you then ...

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41f., 65.

² Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", p. 182, n. 83.

Saying 94 : Whoever seeks will find and whoever knocks, it will be opened to him.

Saying 2 : Jesus said : Let him who seeks, not cease seeking until he finds, and when he finds, he will be troubled, and when he has been troubled, he will marvel and the will reign over the All.

This series of saying is instructive in that it provides a clear transition from the brief, synoptic-type saying, given twice, once in the imperative and once in the indicative, to the developed gnostic description of ascent through knowing of Saying 2.

Conclusions. This collection of proverbial sayings could be extended slightly, but to do so would not change the results of this study.

The first thing to note is that the distinctive view of life of the document comes out most clearly in sayings that take forms which have migrated out of the proverbial tradition. Many of the *makārismos* and many of the sayings in the form, "whoever..." bring distinctively to expression the motifs of turning inward (Sayings 67, 69a, 80), of discovering one's true origin (Sayings 19a, 49, 58), of realized inward salvation (Sayings 1, 58, 69a) and of the ascent of inward seeking (Saying 2, cf. 92, 94). Comparison with Synoptic sayings in these forms shows that sometimes an older saying has been modified in the direction of inwardness (Sayings 69a, 103), but more important was the evident freedom to create sayings in these forms. They were understood in the setting of revealer-speech, and these forms were the vehicle of the creative expression of the point of view and experience which the document as a whole represents.

Within the proverbial sayings themselves, several tendencies are evident. Very often the setting of a proverb makes clear that it was remembered and functioned to state and reinforce the inward seeking for salvation which characterizes the piety of Thomas (Sayings 5b, 14b). In all probability this factor was at work in many cases where we cannot clearly detect it.

At the same time, one cannot help being struck by the fact that the proverbs are handled in a strikingly different way from the sayings considered above. Very few proverbs occur in Thomas which do not have parallels in the Synoptic Gospels. Whatever view is taken of the relation between the Thomas tradition and the Synoptics, this fact shows clearly that the proverb form functioned in a sacred tradition. Popular wisdom was drawn into the collection of proverbs only to a very slight degree, though popular wisdom not known from the Synoptics does appear in Thomas, most clearly in the simili-

tude of the dog in the manger (Saying 102). It is striking that proverbs were not borrowed and brought into the tradition, as they must have been at an earlier stage of the tradition.

Along with this regard for the proverbial saying attributed to Jesus as part of a sacred tradition one notes other features. Apparently most of these are consequences of the shift from wisdom which comments on interpersonal life situations to words treasured because they are a sacred tradition. A frequent feature is the giving of a clarifying explanation of the descriptive part of the proverb ("because they are not established," Saying 40; "the little that he has," Saying 41; "they give no fruit," Saying 45a; "or in a hidden place," Saying 73; "lay his head and rest," Saying 86). Another tendency to be observed is that toward balanced parallelism (lion, man/ man, lion, Saying 7; morning, evening/ evening, morning, Saying 36; hate, love/ love, hate, Saying 43b; near/ far, Saying 82; hate/ love, Saying 101), together with a more balanced, declarative form of statement in comparison with the controversial debate forms in which some of the same materials appear in the Synoptics (Sayings 26, 31). We are not here concerned with the history of the tradition, but with the fact that simpler, more balanced declarative forms are preferred by Thomas.

Along with this tendency it should also be noted that many of the most strikingly hyperbolic and paradoxical sayings of the Synoptic tradition are simply missing from Thomas. We cite only these examples: as already noted, instead of the antithesis first-last; last/first we find the dissolution of difference in Saying 4b, while in Saying 111b with its emphasis on finding oneself there is a striking contrast to the Synoptic paradox of losing oneself and finding oneself; missing too is "love your enemies," though we do find "love your brother" Saying 25. Though in a few cases Thomas offers a strikingly hyperbolic saying, the recurrent tendency is to reduce paradox and hyperbole, in comparison with the Synoptic style of speech.

The common sense secular and religious proverb gathers insight which helps the hearer to make a whole out of his existence. Reversal of situation, paradox, and hyperbole often occur, but they are normally subordinated to this end. Though the project of making a whole out of one's existence has been interiorized in Thomas, the proverbial form functions in the same way with respect to the hearer's understanding as it does in the common-sense proverb. By contrast, the differentia of the use of this form in the Synoptics is that paradox

and hyperbole intensify the confrontation between the saying and the hearer to break the continuity of the "project" of one's own life.¹

Finally, we can note that this decisively different function makes more complicated the historical question of the development of the tradition. The intensification of the Synoptic proverbs is, by its closeness to the function of the parable, to be regarded as a trait of the tradition at a very early stage (indeed, of Jesus himself). The kinship of the interiorized wisdom of Thomas with the common sense proverb in function means that pure proverbial form does not necessarily point to an early stage. But this problem reaches beyond the scope of this paper.

¹ See William A. Beardslee, "Uses of the Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels", *Interpretation*, 24 (1970), 61-73.

III. HISTORICAL STUDIES

THE HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS OF THE RESURRECTION FAITH

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What was the origin and initial development of the faith in Jesus' resurrection in the primitive Christian community? Before this question can be answered, reliable historical methodology must be established. Many studies of Christian origins have failed to use a valid approach, and Willi Marxsen rightly starts with the question of method.¹ He recognizes the necessity of penetrating behind the New Testament text to an earlier period of time, to sources in that text and their original context, and to the *Sitz im Leben*. He notes that we must inquire into the events behind the text, and "we must above all discover *why* a person makes a particular statement".²

I

The first step in valid methodology is to eliminate what appears to be evidence but really is not. Often exegetes have accepted as valid many unhistorical words and deeds ascribed to Jesus and the apostles. If we accept as *genuine* evidence what is only *pseudo* evidence, we cannot recover the past.

We should not accept the gospel pericopes as biographical accounts; if we do, we have a false picture of Jesus' life and the ideas the apostles received from him. The pericopes are not based on an authentic oral tradition of Jesus' words and deeds,³ and only a few of them give us a tiny glimpse of his career. The gospel traditions generally consist of early Christian preaching and teaching which originated in the church after Jesus' death and have been placed in the framework of his lifetime. The gospel material is put in proper perspective when

¹ Willi Marxsen, *The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 25-97. See also his *The Beginnings of Christology: A Study in Its Problems*, trans. P.J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia, 1969), chapter 1.

² Marxsen, *Beginnings*, pp. 2-8; *Resurrection*, pp. 26, 28.

³ See H.M. Teeple, "The Oral Tradition That Never Existed", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 89 (1970), 56-68.

we recognize the influence of the Christian environment, the need for apologetics, the origin of the oral tradition, and the purpose of the gospels.

Similarly, if we accept the "speeches" ascribed to Simon (Peter) in Acts 2-5 as representative of the actual kerygma in the Jerusalem church, we will have an erroneous view of the beliefs of the primitive community. There is abundant evidence that these traditions reflect a stage of Christian thought that is later than that of the purported setting.

Much of the speech material originated as an effort to solve apologetic problems in the church. Efforts to explain the delay in Jesus' second coming are made in 2.34-45 and 3.21; the problem of the general Jewish rejection of the belief that Jesus was the Christ underlies the unfriendly attitude toward the "men of Israel" throughout the speeches and is plain in 4.11; the problem of a dying and rising Christ (contrary to Jewish expectation) is the background of 2.23-36 and the Servant Christology of 3.13, 26. The first two of these apologetic problems could not have arisen until after the extensive delay of the parousia and the widespread Jewish rejection of the Christian faith had become two of the most important problems in the church. These developments took time. They cannot possibly go back to the initial stage of Christianity. The reinterpretation of the Old Testament, used to support the apologetics, is so radical that it seems improbable that it was thought of soon after the crucifixion. Late interpretation of the Old Testament is indicated too by the loose, generalized claims that "all the prophets" foretold that God's Christ must suffer (3.18) and "all the prophets ... proclaimed these days" (3.24).

In the speeches the belief that faith in Jesus' name results in miraculous healing (3.16; 4.10) and the notion that salvation is only through his name are Hellenistic-Christian ideas that are a long step away from the Judaic-Christian faith. Decisive evidence of the lateness of the speeches is the presence of the gentile-Christian point of view, a fact often overlooked. Although 3.13 contains the Jewish and Jewish-Christian trait of referring to the patriarchs as "our fathers", 3.25 contains the gentile-Christian trait of referring to them as "your fathers".¹ Above all, the speeches proclaim the gentile-Christian attitude that the Jews are responsible for Jesus' death in 2.36; 3.13-15;

¹ H.M. Teeple, "Early Jewish-Christian Writing", *Journal of the Bible and Religion*, 25 (1957), 301-5.

4.10. Since the membership of the church in Jerusalem consisted only of Jewish Christians (judging from Acts), and even the Hellenistic-Jewish Christians had to migrate from the city because of the Jewish persecution of the church (Acts 8.1), the gentile-Christian ideas and attitudes *cannot possibly come from the primitive community*. The speeches in Acts represent kerygma that is earlier than the thought in most of the New Testament, but they are not *that* early.

The gospels, their sources, and the Book of Acts alike were written to support the Christian proclamation, not to report history. In fact, they deliberately suppress history when history jeopardizes the proclamation; this occurred in respect to such historical facts as the place of Jesus' birth and the cause of his death. To switch Jesus' birthplace from Nazareth to Bethlehem, Luke has Jesus' parents make a trip to Bethlehem, while Matthew portrays the parents as living in Bethlehem and then (to explain the fact that they lived in Nazareth) as migrating (via Egypt!) to the latter town. The speeches in Acts as well as the gospel pericopes conceal all but traces of the fact that Pilate crucified Jesus as a political rebel.

After recognizing the nature of our source material we can avoid the mistake of depending on pseudo evidence to reconstruct the beginnings of the resurrection faith. The predictions of his death, resurrection, and parousia ascribed to Jesus in the gospels are not authentic. The despair and disbelief of the disciples immediately before and after the crucifixion show that Jesus made no such forecasts. This historical fact is reflected in the admission that Simon and the other disciple "did not know the Scripture that he must rise from the dead" (John 20.9). The historical truth is covered up with the notion that the disciples should "remember (obviously they did not) Jesus' predictions of his death and resurrection (Luke 24.6-7; cf. John 2.22). Further evidence is the fact that neither in the kerygma in Acts 2-5 nor in the tradition received by Paul (1 Cor. 15:3-5) are such predictions of Jesus mentioned. Surely they would have been included as support if known, for the kerygma is attempting to establish the resurrection faith.¹ If we accept the "predictions" as evidence that the disciples expected Jesus' resurrection, we will be in error. These traditions are only a part of the Christian apologetic to explain that Jesus is the Christ in spite of his death: all is according to divine plan; Scripture prophesied

¹ Contrary to Joachim Jeremias: "... there can be no doubt that Jesus expected and announced his suffering and death" (*New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus*, trans. John Bowden [New York, 1971], p. 286).

these events, and Jesus predicted them and voluntarily submitted to God's will.

Neither can the empty tomb stories in the gospels be relied on as historical records, contrary to Hans von Campenhausen.¹ Hans Grass rightly recognizes that there was no empty tomb.² The resurrection tradition that the church transmitted to Paul knows no empty tomb, and neither does Paul. If he had known of such a story, he surely would have mentioned it, for he was trying to convince his readers that the Christ was raised from the dead. The empty tomb tradition originated in Hellenistic churches after Paul's day to counteract doubts that Jesus had really risen. It has nothing to do with the beginnings of the resurrection faith.

If we rely on the speeches in Acts, we will conclude from 2.27-31 that the primitive church was already interpreting Psalm 15.10 LXX (16.10 Heb.) as a prophecy of Jesus' resurrection. In the Old Testament passage the psalmist is referring to himself, but in Acts the text is changed from the second person to the third person to make it apply to Jesus. It is more probable that the misinterpretation and the change in the text would occur after the controversy between Jews and Christians had become acute than that it happened in the early stages of the primitive community.

In Acts 2.32 (cf. 3.15) the claim is made that "we all [apostles] are witnesses" that God raised Jesus. Does this mean that all the apostles preached that God raised Jesus, or is it a claim that all have seen him after the crucifixion? Evidence that it is the latter is the fact that in the speeches in Acts 2-5 the term *μάρτυς*, "witness", is restricted to Jesus' resurrection (2.32; 3.15), except in 5.30-32 (and even here the resurrection is included). *Μάρτυς* may have this connotation in Acts 13.30-31 also: "And God raised from the dead him who

¹ Hans von Campenhausen, *Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 77-87.

² Grass maintains that visionary appearances of Jesus were the foundation of the Easter faith; see his *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, 2. Aufl. (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 257-68. Reginald H. Fuller defends the empty tomb pericope in Mark as "early and Palestinian in origin", and he surmises "that the basic nucleus was derived from a report given by Mary Magdalene to the disciples" (*The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* [New York, 1971], pp. 69f.). This view does not agree with two pieces of evidence: (1) the absence of any mention of a tomb in Paul's letters and in the tradition he received very strongly indicates the lateness of the story, and (2) the resurrection at sunrise, implied by Mk. 16.2, suggests the origin of the story in a gentile community which was familiar with pagan myths in which sunrise was the sacred hour, especially for sun-gods.

appeared ($\omega\phi\theta\eta$) for many days to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses to the people". This idea is only a continuation of the apologetic in 1 Corinthians 15.7b, the notion that all the apostles saw him alive after his crucifixion, a claim designed to bolster the weak support for the resurrection faith. In 1 Corinthians 15.5-7 we have a record of some of the growth of this tradition : first, only Simon saw him; then it was claimed that the Twelve saw him; then five hundred brethren: then James, the hero of Judaic Christianity; then "all the apostles". The traditions may not have been added in this exact order, but certainly direction of the growth was from one witness to many. Thus neither Acts nor the tradition Paul received supply valid evidence that the disciples generally had visions of a risen Jesus.

It is instructive to observe the development of the basis for the resurrection faith. In Paul and the early tradition he received, the basis consists of visionary appearances of Jesus and Scripture in general. In the speeches in Acts 2-5 the proof that God raised Jesus consists of a specific passage of Scripture and the claim that all the apostles are witnesses. In the gospels the basis of belief in Jesus' resurrection consists of his predictions, Scripture, the empty tomb, the proclamation of the angels at the tomb, and physical appearances (Jesus eats and drinks with the disciples in Acts 10.41 as well as in the gospels). In John 20.19-23 and probably in the original ending of Mark, now lost, Jesus' appearances are visionary. As more and more skepticism concerning the resurrection was encountered, the church felt increasingly the need for additional proof. This situation is reflected in the broad, expanded claim in Acts 1.3 where we read : "To whom also he presented himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing to them for forty days, ..."

II

After eliminating the pseudo evidence, the second step in methodology is to detect the few allusions to genuine historical events and thought which appear in the sources. The allusions are discussed here in the chronological order of the events or ideas.

1. *The disciples fled at Jesus' arrest.* This is stated in Mark 14.50 par. and alluded to in Mark 14.27, 29 par. and John 16.32. Luke suppresses this by omitting the Marcan statements and by creating the fiction that the disciples remained in Jerusalem after the crucifixion. Surely the

flight of the disciples is historical, for it must have been embarrassing to the church. The omission of this event in Luke-Acts is quite understandable as the work of a Christian apologist, but the creation of the event by the early church is unreasonable — why would the church invent something that portrayed its founders as cowards? Mark does not tell us where the disciples went, but the allusion in John states that each scattered to his own home.

2. *Simon denied that he knew Jesus.* This tradition appears in all four canonical gospels. It also was too humiliating to be invented by the early church. The denial apparently is the background of the reference to Simon as “a sinful man” (Luke 5.8) and the story of his embarrassment when Jesus appears after his resurrection (John 21.7; “for he was naked” is a later interpolation that misses the point of the story). The same event probably accounts for other disparaging traditions about Simon, including Jesus’ rebuking him for his disbelief in Jesus’ death and resurrection (Mark 8.31-33 par.), Simon’s identification with Satan (Mark 8.33 par.), association with Satan (Luke 22.31), and his sense of unworthiness at the footwashing (John 13.8-9).

Apparently Simon’s denial as well as the flight of the disciples involved more than personal fear. Disillusionment concerning Jesus’ career and messiahship was a factor too, judging from Luke 22.32. In spite of its prayer that Simon’s faith may not fail, this verse clearly shows that the faith of both Simon and his brethren did fail, for otherwise there would have been no need for him to “turn around and establish” his brethren. “Turn around” (ἐπιστρέφω) here has the figurative sense of change one’s mind, return to a former view.

3. *The resurrection faith began with Simon’s vision of Jesus.* In the earliest tradition we have about the resurrection (1 Cor. 15.3-5), the faith begins with his vision, not with an empty tomb. Luke 24.34 mentions a primitive tradition: “The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon”. Two synoptic pericopes reflect Simon’s vital role in Christian history. In Mark 8.29 par. he is *the* disciple who recognizes that Jesus is the Christ. Matthew 16.17-19 explicitly makes Simon the foundation stone of the church. Simon acquired the title “the Rock” (*Cepash* in Aramaic, *Petros* in Greek, Peter in English). Considering his denial of Jesus, Simon’s acquisition of this highly honored title is hardly explained by his active role as an apostle. If he is responsible for the origin of the resurrection faith, however, without which Christianity would have died with the crucifixion, the title is

very understandable. He certainly did not acquire it as a result of his martyrdom, for Paul called him "Cephas" during Simon's lifetime (Gal. 2). If we accept Mark 8.29 and Matthew 16.17-19 as words of Jesus, we will fail to recognize that Simon got his title not from Jesus, but from the church. "And Peter" in Mark 16.7 probably is an insertion to adjust Mark to Simon's experience, for Mark 14.28 refers to the disciples' seeing Jesus in Galilee, without mentioning Simon, and 16.7 probably did too originally.

4. *At first the disciples did not believe in Jesus' resurrection.* We have observed that Luke 22.32 evidently reflects the fact that all the disciples lost faith in Jesus at his arrest and crucifixion, and later Simon regained it, then caused the other disciples to regain their faith. According to Luke, when the women reported the empty tomb to the apostles "these words seemed to them as idle, and they disbelieved them" (24.11). According to Matthew, when the disciples saw Jesus in Galilee, "some doubted" (28.17). According to John 20, Thomas had difficulty in believing that Jesus had risen. Early disbelief is alluded to in *Gospel of Peter* 56, where an angel at the tomb tells the women, "But if you do not believe, look in and see the place where he lay". The Thomas story apparently was created as "proof" that Jesus had arisen and that the resurrection was physical, not spiritual or visionary—similar motives underlie the references to Jesus' eating after his resurrection (Luke 24.34; Acts 10.41; cf. John 21.13). The general references to the disciples' doubts, however, serve no apologetic purpose; in fact they must have been a source of chagrin to the early church, for they suggest that the disciples were of "little faith". These allusions to disbelief must reflect actual history. Apologetic remarks were composed to counteract the early disbelief; the disciples on the road to Emmaus are criticized for being "slow of heart to believe" (Luke 24.25).

5. *In the primitive church the belief was that God, not Jesus, had performed the miracle of the resurrection.* The statements in Acts (2.24,32; 3.15; 4.10 17.31) that "God raised" Jesus from the dead are continuations of the view in the primitive church that God, not Jesus, was the miracle worker. Paul, too, shared this view (1 Cor. 15.15; Rom. 4.24), as did the author of Hebrews (13.20). Similarly in Acts 2.22 even the miracles that Jesus performed were really mighty works and signs that God did through him. In contrast, Hellenistic Christianity later shifted more and more to the view that Jesus was a god who performed the miracles himself, and the notion that Jesus rose by means of his own power tended to replace the belief that God raised

him. The primitive Christian view was consistent with the monotheism of Judaism, whereas the later interpretation was suggested by the triumph over death by pagan deities.

The third step in method is to apply the pertinent historical background : Jewish, Christian, and pagan. The first two are the valuable backgrounds for the beginnings of the resurrection faith, but the pagan background is essential for later developments.

Knowledge of the Jewish concepts of the Messiah, or Christ, provides insight into the ideas that we may reasonably conclude were held by Jesus and his disciples and by Jews who were not followers, both before and after the crucifixion. In Judaism the Messiah was expected to be a king who with God's help, would terminate the gentiles' rule over Israel and usher in the new age of God's rule over the earth. The concepts varied as to the kind of king he would be, but they generally agreed that he would accomplish this basic function.¹ No one expected the Messiah to be raised from the grave, ascend to heaven, and return to earth. Jesus and his disciples lived in an environment in which all but the Sadducees believed that the coming of the new age would be accompanied by the general resurrection of the dead and by the judgment. Ascertaining some of the genuine Christian events and ideas involved in the beginnings of the resurrection faith assist us in evaluating the historicity or non-historicity of other Christian traditions associated with the resurrection. For example, the tradition that the resurrection faith began with Simon is a reflection of history ; determining this permits us to recognize the later origin and function of the empty tomb stories. Essential too is the knowledge that Jews generally did not believe that Jesus was the Christ whom God had restored to life, and that this situation along with certain other disagreements, caused increasing tension between Jews and Christians through the first century. This knowledge enables us to recognize the Christian apologetics produced later to deal with these issues to and separate them from authentic tradition.

¹ For descriptions of Jewish expectations of a messianic king, see J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. W. Stinespring (New York, 1955), parts I and II ; S. Mowinkel, *He That Cometh*, trans. G.W. Anderson (Oxford, 1956), pp. 311-21 ; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, trans. E.T. Sander (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 181f. ; W.A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden, 1967), chapters 3-5 ; H.M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet : Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (Philadelphia, 1957), chapters 3 and 5.

III

The final step in method is to make a reconstruction of the beginnings of the resurrection faith, using the genuine historical evidence and applying historical deduction from knowledge of the background and contemporary situation. The use of historical deduction to supplement what little reliable evidence we have brings us directly to a crucial issue in methodology : should historical reconstruction be limited to documentary evidence? Campenhausen apparently favors that approach. He accepts the empty tomb tradition as historical because it is in the oldest gospel, Mark, and Luke collects older accounts and works them up "historically". He objects to the "prevailing tendency to dismiss" the evangelists' accounts "and to start with general suppositions and free-ranging combinations which, unsupported by the sources, simply hang in the air".¹ Fuller states that the historian cannot go beyond the allegedly factual reports.² Admittedly, there is a danger of erroneous conjecture when one goes beyond the documentary evidence, but it is equally dangerous to be too credulous in accepting that evidence. Pseudo evidence is still false, even if it is written in documents. Furthermore restricting ourselves to the documents shuts out the evidence, often more reliable than a document written for propaganda purposes, that can be derived from knowledge of the environmental situation. Marxsen, as we observed at the start of this essay, correctly recognizes that we not only can, but *must*, go behind the text.

By the time of his arrest, Jesus and his disciples had come to the conclusion that he was the Christ, the Messiah, the Jewish king whom God would empower to displace the Roman rule over Israel.³ Although his preaching repentance was not an act expected of the Messiah, he evidently regarded himself as the Christ by the close of his career. The question of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness has long been debated, but the weight of the evidence is in the affirmative. Jesus was unquestionably crucified by Pilate as a potential king of the Jews. The Christ was expected to overthrow the rule of the Gentiles by leading

¹ Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 78. David M. Stanley also accepts far too much New Testament evidence as historical in his book *Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology*, *Analecta Biblica*, 13 (Rome, 1961), chapter 1.

² Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ Contrary to Wrede, Bultmann, Bornkamm and others who have contended that Jesus did not regard himself as the Messiah.

an armed revolt against them. The mention in Mark of an insurrection at the time 15.7), two "robbers" (a Roman term for armed rebels) crucified with Jesus (15.27), and the Roman charge against him that he was "The King of the Jews" (15.26)—these and other pieces of evidence indicate that Jesus actually led a revolt against Rome and was crucified for it.¹ If so, he definitely thought of himself as the Messiah.

Historical deduction provides another kind of evidence that Jesus regarded himself as the Christ. Nothing happened after his death that would cause the disciples to originate the belief. Jewish eschatology had no expectation that the Messiah would die, be raised from the dead, ascend heaven, and return to earth to establish the kingdom of God. Neither the resurrection faith nor any other primitive Christian belief known to us would induce the disciples to conclude for the first time that he was the Messiah. Post-crucifixion Christology is comprehensible only if the disciples held a pre-crucifixion Christology, and the disciples would be much more likely to believe he was the Christ if he believed it too and planned to end the Roman rule over Israel.

Neither Jesus nor his disciples foresaw his death, much less the faith in his resurrection, ascension, and parousia. He uttered no predictions of any of these. He and his disciples were unprepared for the shock of his sudden arrest and death.

Although the Romans regarded Jesus as the leader of the rebellion, he was not caught while he was conducting it. He and the disciples went into hiding after the revolt failed, and his disciple Judas betrayed him to Jewish authorities, who were concerned to keep the peace. When Jesus was arrested, the disciples fled back to their homes in Galilee, afraid for their lives and disillusioned. Jesus had not conquered the Romans; instead, they conquered him! That the disciples had expected Jesus to end the Roman rule and introduce the new kingdom is reflected in Luke 24.21 ("But we had hoped that he himself is he who is about to redeem Israel").

Simon was caught by the authorities—whether Jewish or Roman we do not know—and questioned as a suspected member of Jesus' band of followers. Simon escaped by denying that he even knew Jesus. The gospel tradition is not an authentic report of the incident, but it does reflect a historical event. The unflattering incident is not the

¹ See S.G.F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (New York, 1967).

type that the church would create and assign to its hero; it alone explains the disparaging allusions to him in the canonical gospels. The precise time, place, and nature of Simon's denial is unknown, but it probably happened around the time of Jesus' arrest. According to tradition it took place during Jesus' trial before Jewish authorities, but it is doubtful that such a trial occurred, and Simon's presence there is in contradiction with the statement that the disciples fled at Jesus' arrest. The threefold form of the denial is hardly historical, for it is only a stylized form to which the threefold affirmation of loyalty in John 21:15-17 is a stylized response intended to counteract the denial.

After Simon returned to Galilee, he had a vision of Jesus which convinced him that Jesus was alive again. Simon must have had a guilty conscience after saving his own life by lying and denying that he knew Jesus. The only other person whom we are certain had a vision of Jesus after the crucifixion is Saul (Paul), and he, too, had a bad conscience. When Saul mentions his vision, he immediately remembers his inferiority because he persecuted the church (1 Cor. 15.8-9). The feeling of guilt probably was on his mind at the time of his vision. All this suggests that the psychological factor must be included in determining the origin of the resurrection faith. Jesus and his disciples had believed that the new age was about to come and that—as in typical Jewish faith—it would begin with the establishment of the kingdom of God, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment day. This was the point of Jesus' (and the Baptist's) proclamation that Jews should repent because the kingdom was at hand—they should repent before the judgment when it would be too late. Therefore Simon's conviction that Jesus was alive meant to him at first that the general resurrection had occurred and that God had raised the Jewish dead, or at least the righteous Jewish dead. There was no reason at first for Simon to think that Jesus was the only one raised.

The vision did not mean (as it later meant to many gentile Christians) that Jesus was divine and had supernatural power. After his vision Simon tried to persuade the other disciples that Jesus was alive again. In this he was not assisted by any empty-tomb tales of Mary Magdalene¹ or other women. Eventually he succeeded, but the disciples were

¹ Contrary to Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 70. In Mark, women who evidently were prominent in the early church were chosen instead of disciples to be present at the crucifixion and empty tomb. The reason is that Mark knew that the disciples fled to Galilee at Jesus' arrest.

not easily convinced. "Some doubted". Probably *all* doubted, for Simon alone in the sight of the primitive community was "the Rock", the foundation stone of the church. If the other disciples had soon had visions of the risen Jesus, or had immediatly been persuaded, Simon would not have been so distinctive as to qualify as "the Rock".

To the disciples in Galilee the resurrection faith meant that the kingdom of God had begun to arrive, since the resurrection had already occurred.¹ Further, it restored their belief that Jesus was the Christ. Although Jesus had failed in his messianic mission before his crucifixion, he now would succeed. Their conviction that the kingdom of God was beginning proved to them that Jesus' proclamation was right.

With renewed confidence and enthusiasm they returned to Jerusalem expecting to find the dead raised and Jesus establishing the kingdom or conducting the judgment. When they found neither, they must have been disheartened again. Some rethinking made it possible for the disciples to survive this second crisis of faith. They must have thought that since the general resurrection had not yet occurred, God had singled out Jesus for special honour by raising him ahead of the other dead. Thus God had revealed that Jesus is, indeed, the Christ. (This notion survives in 1 Cor. 15.20; Acts 17.31; 26.23). They thought that Jesus must be around somewhere and would establish the kingdom very soon.

Belief that God had raised Jesus solved a vital problem for the disciples. The problem was : How can Jesus possibly be the Christ, for he failed to accomplish the mission of the Christ, the mission of ending Roman rule over Israel? The resurrection faith opened the way for Jesus to complete his mission; his death was not the end of his career. When they first believed in his resurrection, while they were in Galilee, they assumed he was presently performing his task. After they returned to Jerusalem, they concluded that though he had not yet done so, he would soon fulfill his destiny

This explains why the resurrection faith was vital in primitive and early Christianity. The resurrection faith made possible the continuation of the belief that he was the Christ, who would introduce the kingdom of God. Therefore Paul wrote, "If Christ has not been raised, then our kerygma is in vain and your faith is in vain" (1 Cor. 15.14). Hence salvation depends on believing that God raised him from the

¹ The early church continued to think of Jesus' resurrection in eschatological terms. Paul makes this clear with his argument that Jesus had been, and the dead will be, raised with an imperishable, spiritual body. (1 Cor. 15.42-57).

dead (Rom. 10.9). Even in non-Pauline Hellenistic churches, witnessing to "the resurrection of the Lord Jesus" was the main activity of the apostles (Acts 4.33).

As weeks and months and years passed without the coming of the new era, a third crisis of faith must have developed. The apostles must have asked themselves : "Where is Jesus? Why do we not see him? Why does he not come and establish the kingdom? Is he really the Christ? Did God really raise him from the dead?" Internal doubts concerning the coming of the kingdom are reflected in Acts 1.6, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"

The doubts, questions, and ridicule of non-Christians must have contributed to the crisis too. The apostles could not find Jesus at will and show him to others. In an age which believed that the *dead* could appear in visions, not many persons would be persuaded that Jesus was alive, by a report of a visionary appearance.

The internal problem was solved by extending the time. Since Jesus was no longer seen, the apostles concluded that he had ascended to heaven and at the proper time would return to earth. *Then* he would complete his task. The ascension must have been suggested by the Jewish beliefs that Enoch, Elijah, Moses, Ezra, Baruch, and Jeremiah had ascended to heaven and would return in the eschatological period. Belief in the return of Elijah, at least, was widespread, for the early Christians applied it to John the Baptist.

IV

Thus began the resurrection faith. The Bultmannian school and some others ¹ claim that the belief that Jesus had been raised was the start of Christology- Jesus did not believe he was the Christ, and the disciples first believed it when they decided that God had raised him. Apparent evidence for the view are the statements in Romans 1.4; Acts 2.36; 13.33. Acts 3.18, however, is evidence to the contrary, for it clearly regards the earthly Jesus as the Christ who suffered. This must reflect the earlier view, for as we have maintained, nothing that happened after the crucifixion would have generated belief in his messiahship, not even the belief that God had raised him ahead of others. The doctrine that Jesus became the Christ at his resurrection is only one of the later theories to explain Jesus' messianic failure : He did

¹ E.g., J.A.T. Robinson, *Jesus and His coming : The Emergence of a Doctrine* (London, 1957), pp. 28f., 144, 146.

not accomplish the messianic mission before his crucifixion because God had not yet given him the power and authority of the Messiah.

Although the beliefs in the resurrection, ascension, and parousia solved (for the Christians) the vital question of Jesus' messiahship, they created many problems. Apologetic sayings, stories, and interpretations of the Old Testament were created to solve the new problems, which included a dying and rising Messiah, non-conformity to prophecy, proof that the alleged events really occurred, and the delay of the parousia. These doubts are reflected in Luke 24.26. But these later developments are beyond the scope of this essay.

Many reconstructions of the beginnings of the resurrection faith have relied on those later apologetics, accepting them as primitive traditions. But they appear to be primitive only because the New Testament writers ascribed them to an earlier period to give them authority. Although there is a risk in screening out documentary evidence and using historical deduction, when used carefully this method brings us much closer to real history than credulous acceptance of pseudo evidence ever can.

SYNOPTIC PROPHECIES ON THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

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An amazing example of uncritical dogmatism in New Testament studies is the belief that the Synoptic Gospels should be dated after the Jewish War of A.D. 66-70 because they contain prophecies *ex eventu* of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70. Usually this chronology is accepted without any discussion, although the prophecies found in Mark 13.1-37 and other places have been dated in very different ways.¹ Scarcely any efforts are made to defend such a post-war date. When such attempts are made, the following passages are referred to, here quoted in the order of the common Synoptic narrative : (1) Luke 19.43-44, (2) Matthew 22.7, and (3) the Synoptic apocalypse in Matthew 24.1-25.46 and parallels (Mark 13.1-37; Luke 21.5-36).

An analysis of these prophecies will have to make it evident that none of them corresponds to what is known about the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem. Concerning the predictions in their present form, including all eventual contributions by tradents and evangelists, a pre-war date is more plausible. This will have important consequences for Synoptic chronology in general.

I

Luke 19.43-44 is a prophecy said to have been spoken by Jesus when he saw the Holy City from the Mount of Olives and wept over its children (this episode gave the *Dominus Flevit* church its name) :

For days will come upon you when your enemies will build palisades around you, encircle you, and press you hard from all sides. (44) And they will level you with the ground, including your children within you, and not leave one stone upon another within you—since you did not realize the chance of your visitation.

¹ G.R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future* (London : Macmillan, 1954), p. 244, concerning Mark 13 : "Its genesis has been set in every decade of the first century except the opening one."

This lamentation is based on Old Testament descriptions of the punishment and destruction of Jerusalem, a very ancient topic corresponding to well-known traditions of the Orient and often found in Hebrew and Jewish prophecy (e.g., Amos 9.1, "crush the capitals," Isa. 5.5f., "its wall shall be trodden down," 64.10f., "Zion has become a desert"). The details of the prediction simply coincide with things which always happened when a town was besieged, and of course such events were also referred to by the old prophets: camps were built (Isa. 29.3; Ezek. 4.2), palisades were raised (Isa. 37.33; Ezek. 26.8), the city was encircled, restrained, attacked (Ezek. 4.2-3). Jesus' description of the enemies levelling the city and its children with the ground was meant to remind the hearers of the Book of Isaiah (Isa. 3.26; 26.6; 63.18). The same is true of the lamentation on the destruction (which goes back to Isa. 22.4-5) and of the violent reduction of the city to a stone heap (which has counterparts in Isa. 25.2; Micah 3.12; Jer. 26.18); the latter scenery was also inspired by a Psalm of Lamentation (Psa. 71.1).

Fulfilment of such prophecies may have been proclaimed at any time. There is no reason to doubt that Jesus was familiar with and followed up this line of thought, although the prediction quoted above was possibly translated and colored by different traditions and eventually fixed by the evangelist in the period between the death of Christ and the formation of the Gospel.

The length of this period is the crucial question. What is said in Luke 19.43-44 proves that the evangelist had not yet had any experience of the Jewish-Roman war of A.D. 66-70 and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem when he used this prediction to illustrate his narrative. For in Lk. 19.43 the destruction is expressly said to be caused by the "enemies" of the Jews. In the works of Luke there is no description of the Romans as enemies. On the contrary, the Emperor's officials were always depicted as decent and honest people who treated the Jews and the disciples of Jesus in a correct way (Lk. 23.4, 14; Acts 10.2; 13.7; 19.14; 27.3; 28.18). The portrait of the Romans would have been different, or rather, hostile, if the author had looked back upon the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and regarded the Romans as the enemies who had punished the Holy City. When the prediction quoted in Luke 19.43-44 was taken up by the evangelist, he must instead have understood the "enemies" in the same general sense of hostile people as in Old Testament sayings (Deut. 32.27;

Isa. 59.19; Ezek. 36.2; Amos 9.4; Psa. 74.3; Lam. 1.5, etc.), and in his own quotation of the Benedictus (Lk. 1.70, 71, 74).

After the Jewish-Roman war had broken out in A.D. 66, it was no longer possible to speak of the Romans in those positive terms characteristic of Luke-Acts, and yet to make them enemies who are going to ruin Jerusalem. If the evangelist dedicated his books to an important member of Roman society, which seems probable since he addressed Theophilus as "honored sir" (Lk. 1.3), it would have been particularly cynical of him to portray the Romans as enemies who rightly destroyed the Jewish nation. The only logical conclusion is that Luke wrote his Gospel before the war had begun.

II

Matthew 22.7 is the culmination of the story about the Marriage Feast, a parable quoted by Matthew to illustrate the discussions of the priests with Jesus in the Temple : "The king grew angry, sent his armies, destroyed those murderers, and burnt their city."

It is a serious error to identify these armies with the Roman legions. The parable implies that a king sent out his servants to call the people who had been invited to be guests at the marriage feast of his son, then grew angry when most of them did not come and some of them killed his messengers (Mt. 22.2-6). Everything here is meant to illustrate God's invitation of the elect people to his Son's kingdom and the consequences of their disobedience. Thus in the parable, God was alluded to in the person of the king who sent his armies to punish those self-sufficient individuals. In the Jewish war, however, the king who sent his troops against the rebels was Nero, later succeeded by Vespasian who let his son Titus bring the campaign to its end. It is most unlikely that Matthew should have committed such a leap of thought from God to Nero that he actually had the siege of Jerusalem in mind when he quoted the parable. One might better assume that he quoted it before this event took place. The picture of God sending his armies to punish all guests not willing to follow his invitation was in no way applicable to the war started by Nero to punish the leaders of rebellion against Roman supremacy. Unless the redactor of the Gospel of Matthew was not extraordinarily thoughtless, he would have felt obliged to make the parable of the Marriage Feast more up-to-date had he already known about the Zealot rebellion against Nero in A.D. 66 and the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 when he included the parable in the passion story.

III

In the Synoptic apocalypse (Mt. 24.1-25.46; Mk. 13.1-37; Lk. 21.5-36), there are three passages which either indicate the destruction of the Temple or the City. The first passage is found in Matthew, Mark and Luke, the second in Matthew and Mark. Both have only to do with the Temple. The substantial elements of the third passage are peculiar to Luke and are only concerned with the City. If the Jewish war had influenced these predictions, there would at least have been some correspondance between them and what happened when Jerusalem was conquered. None of the three passages contain such details.

1. Matthew 24.2b; Mk. 13.2b; Lk. 21.6 concern only the Temple, not the City : "There will not be any stone left upon another which is not going to be disconnected [*καταλυθήσεται*]." While some of the disciples were admiring the Temple of Herod, Jesus said it would not remain for ever, but was condemned to end up as a heap of stones. This was meant to be the fulfilment of the same Old Testament prophecies as quoted above with regard to Luke 19.43 (Isa. 25.2; Micah 3.12; Jer. 26.18; Psa. 79.1). Here the realism is strengthened when it says that even those stones which kept together after the ruin would be separated. Criticism of the Temple was already represented by the Essenes (CD 4.18), by Jesus in different contexts (Mt. 21.12 et par.; 26.6 et par., Jn. 2.19), as well as by some of his disciples (Acts 7.48; I Cor. 10.20). In A.D. 63 a Jewish prophet similarly began to foretell its desolation in Jerusalem (Josephus *Bell.* 6. 300-309). These analogies make it necessary to assume that a destruction of the Temple was anticipated in several ways before the first Jewish war. When the prediction about the fall of the Temple which introduces the Synoptic apocalypse is reduced to a prophecy *ex eventu*, no attention is paid to such traditions. Moreover, the prophecy does not refer to any concrete occurrence connected with the historical tragedy. For this reason also, the post-war chronology must be rejected as the product of pure imagination.

2. Matthew 24.15-16; Mark 13.14-15, a second passage which concerns only the Temple, not the City : "Thus (Mk. : but) when you see the abomination of desolation mentioned by Daniel the prophet (Mk. has no reference to Daniel) standing at a holy place (Mk. standing where it should not be), the reader has to understand it. (16) Then the people in Judea must flee into the mountains." In the following

verses, Mt. 24.17; Mk. 13.14-20, the reason for the flight is referred to as the distress foretold by Daniel and others (quotation of Dan. 12.1 with allusions to Deut. 32.25, I Macc. 2.32 and Wisdom 17.17).

The first item mentioned in this revelation is the so-called abomination of desolation (*ἐρήμωσις*), something causing terror and destruction, traditionally connected with idolatry (cf. Deut. 32.16, LXX), and especially known from Jewish apocalyptic (Dan. 8.13, etc.). It will stand in the sanctuary, thus finally being accepted by the High Priests, and imply corruption of the Temple like the altar of Zeus in the days of Judas the Maccabee (Dan. 8.13; 9.27; 11.31; 12.11; I Macc. 1.54, 59; II Macc. 6.1, 7). The shocking appearance of this destructive factor in the Temple indicates that the Jewish terror depicted in the preceding verses (Mt. 24.9-14; Mk. 13.9-13; Lk. 21.12-19, see below), is now increasing by a violent activity of the High Priests like that leading to the persecution of Stephen in the year 36, of Paul in 58 and of James in 62. Secondly, the prophecy states that when the Christians see the abomination of desolation, experienced readers of the Holy Scriptures as they are (Dan. 12.4), they will understand that now fulfilment is approaching (Dan. 12.10).¹ Thirdly, they are warned to flee into the mountains of Judah like the pious adherents of Judas the Maccabee (I Macc. 2.28f.).

It is not possible to reconcile these items with the Jewish war described by Josephus and other historians. The abomination of desolation is expressly said to come first, and in accordance with Daniel is thought of as some violent force that will be effective in the sanctuary. For both reasons it cannot be identified with the occupation and destruction of the Temple by Titus in A.D. 70, as is often suggested, for this military event signalled the final act of the war and did not imply any further persecution. On the other hand, the flight of the believers is said to come at the end, and their hiding-place will be the desert of Judah. While this desert had also been the refuge of the Maccabees and the Essenes, nothing is known of any flight of Christians into the mountains of Judah. The emigration of Palestinian Christianity around A.D. 64 alluded to by Eusebius, which many experts hold to be the background of this prophecy, was expressly said to have taken place before the war and to have brought the believers from Judea to Pella in the Decapolis (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3. 5. 3).

¹ David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), pp. 418-37, "The Abomination of Desolation".

For three reasons Matthew and Mark must have quoted this apocalyptic tradition before they were confronted with the drama of the Jewish war : (1) since the prophetic revelation speaks of different events and gives them an order which is also quite different from what is known about the war, (2) since the believers are supposed to flee into the mountains, but not to leave Judea, as they did before the war according to Eusebius, and (3) since the prophecy alludes to a further persecution of the believers, but to no destruction of the Temple and the City.

3. Luke 21.20-24, especially verses 20-21a, 22 and 23b-24, all concerning the Holy City, but not the Temple :

When you see Jerusalem encircled by armies, then realize that its desolation has come near. (21a) Then the people in Judea must flee into the mountains, and the people inside the city must retire ... (22) For these are "the days of retaliation" (Deut. 32.35) when all that has been written is fulfilled ... (23b) There will be great distress in the country, and wrath against this people. (24) They will fall by the edge of the sword, and be led as captives to all the gentiles. Jerusalem will be trodden down by gentiles, until the opportunities given to the gentiles are fulfilled.

The decisive verses, Lk. 21.20-21a and 23b-24, are partly similar to and partly different from their parallels in Matthew and Mark quoted above (2). Between them, in Lk 21.21b-23a, there is a description of the flight into the mountains, and much of it corresponds to Mt. 24.17-19; Mk. 13.15-17. Thus the whole section Lk. 21.20-24 was essentially based on the same tradition as the one found in Matthew and Mark, although some points were given a new meaning.

Luke still regarded the expected desolation (*ἐρήμωσις*) as the central theme (Lk. 21.20b), but worked it out with several interesting variations. (1) Attention was focused on the City (Lk. 21.20a, 24b), and the Temple was not even mentioned. (2) Therefore the desolation was no more ascribed to any terror active in the sanctuary and called abomination, but to military forces of gentiles who are going to besiege and destroy Jerusalem (Lk. 21.20a, 24b). Luke did not mention or even allude to any Romans, but expressly spoke of gentiles in general, leaving the question of the Romans open. His reference to enemies in 19.44 will confirm that he meant to indicate gentiles in a broad sense, corresponding to Old Testament prophecies. (3) Luke also reported that Jesus had instructed the Christians of Judea to flee into the mountains, and specified it by a corresponding admonition to people living within the city (Lk. 21.21a). Thus he, no more than

Matthew and Mark, indicates any knowledge of that flight to Pella which Eusebius mentions in the only existing report of a flight of Judean Christians shortly before the Jewish war, ca. A.D. 64. Luke is even more revealing in this context, for he said that Jesus had told his disciples to flee when they found the City besieged. If the Gospel of Luke is supposed to have been composed after the historical siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the evangelist must be accused of incredible confusion when he spoke of a flight during that siege, although the Christians were known to have left Judea some time before the war even began in A.D. 66. (4) Matthew and Mark expected the Jewish terror, mentioned in the preceding verses (Mt. 24.9-14; Mk. 13.9-13; Lk. 21.12-19, see below), to be prolonged and increased by the so-called abomination of desolation. But when Luke replaced the latter by the destruction of Jerusalem, he saw this catastrophe as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy (Lk. 21.22), namely that which Moses had said about the days of a final retaliation befalling the impious children of Israel, a quotation of Deut. 32.35. The same change was undertaken with the distress foretold in the following verses. Matthew and Mark (quoting Dan. 12.1) deplored the sufferings of persecuted Christians (Mt. 24.19-22; Mk. 13.17-20), but Luke (thinking of the wrath of God mentioned in Deut. 32.22) announced punishments of "this people," the Jewish persecutors (Lk. 21.23). (5) The conclusive list of afflictions coming upon the Jewish opponents (Lk. 21.24) does not contain any detail so peculiar that it may be derived from what happened when Titus conquered the Holy City. On the contrary, like the similar description in Lk. 19.43-44 (above, part I), it can be perfectly explained as the expected fulfilment of Old Testament predictions, especially found in Deuteronomy and Isaiah. The people will be killed by sword (Deut. 32.25, 41f.; Isa. 3.25), or exiled as captives (Deut. 32.30; Isa. 5.13), and the city will be trodden down by gentiles (Isa. 22.5; 26.6; 63.18; Dan. 8.13). Irrespective of these Old Testament references, the catastrophe also corresponds to what normally happened to rebellious cities. The final remark of Luke confirms that he represented a genuine apocalyptic tradition and had no occasion to adapt the prophecy to the Roman siege of Jerusalem, for he foretold that Jerusalem would be trodden down by gentiles "until the opportunities (*καιροί*) given to gentiles are fulfilled" (Lk. 21.24). What he meant is specified in the following verse : while the gentiles are occupied with the subjugation of Jerusalem they will be surprised and terrified by cosmic signs

and terrible catastrophes which introduce their own punishment (Lk. 21.25-26a). It is a question of all gentiles attacking Jerusalem and then being scattered. This was said in accordance with prophetic expectations (Isa. 13.3-14; 29.3-8; 34.2-4; Ezek. 32.7; Joel 3.14f.; Zech. 12.3; 14.2, 6, 12), and in addition wisdom traditions inspired the description of the horror caused by the rolling of the sea and the falling of the stars (Wisdom 17.4, 15, 18). Josephus also said that many people, during the years before the Jewish war, had seen portents and heard voices indicating the catastrophe and warning the population of Jerusalem to flee (*Bell.* 6. 288-299). Luke's apocalyptic scenery had nothing to do with the attack of Titus and the legions, but was meant to make everyone ready for the end of this world and the triumph of the Son of Man (Lk. 21.26b-27).

In this context Luke took over from his informants a revelation which differed from that of Matthew and Mark in the practical conclusions. Whereas the first two Gospels recommended that the Judaeans leave the capital when the Jewish terror had occupied the Temple, because this would imply a persecution too hard to endure (Mt. 24.21; Mk. 13. 19), the third Gospel said that this persecution would be an ordeal but would not annihilate the believers (Lk. 21.18 : not one hair lost), and the Jerusalem congregation should remain in the City until they saw it attacked by gentiles, because this would imply the punishment of their persecutors (Lk. 21.10). In both cases the starting-point of the apocalyptic expositions was the warning against false prophets and their seductive propaganda on the Temple (Mt. 24.4; Mk. 13.5; Lk. 21.8), a propaganda that was also carried on during the Jewish war (Josephus *Bell.* 6. 285-287). In both cases it was a practical interest which led to the collection of these apocalyptic sayings : the need for instructions on the right attitude of Christians to the Temple in a time when they were persecuted by Jewish authorities or nationalists (Mt. 24.9-14, 19-22; Mk. 13.9-13, 17-20; Lk. 21.12-19), something that happened to several Christians during the apostolic period A.D. 33-66 (to Stephen and other Hellenistic Christians in A.D. 36, to James I ca. 42, to Paul in 58, and to James II in 62). To their comfort and strengthening under such persecutions the believers were reminded of what Jesus had taught about the destruction of the Temple, which the Christians would have to await without contributing to it by any violence corresponding to that of their persecutors (Mt. 24.13; Mk. 13.13b; Lk. 21.19). It

was in connection with this admintion to nonviolence that different perspectives were chosen by Matthew, Mark and Luke.

The reason why different conclusions were drawn by Matthew, Mark and Luke is found in their different attitudes to Judaism. (1) Matthew and Mark endeavored to show that Jesus, in the first instance, went out to save the lost sheep and children of Israel (Mt. 10.6; 15.24; Mk. 7.20). In spite of the antagonism demonstrated by the Jewish authorities they still found the conversion of Israel important. Matthew was especially concerned with the fulfilment of the Mosaic law; Mark was even at home in Jerusalem and had personal connections with Peter, Barnabas and James II, the brother of Jesus who used to pray in the Temple for the salvation of Israel (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 2.23.3-9, 17-20). Therefore the apocalyptic speech of Jesus as reported by Matthew and Mark did not foretell any destruction of Jerusalem, but only permitted the disciples to give up Jerusalem when they would find the Temple dominated by the Jewish terrorists. Something of that kind happened when James II was stoned on the instigation of the High Priest in A.D. 62, though no flight into the mountains of Judah is known to have followed. (2) Luke was more aware of an early discussion between Jesus and the Jews and of the importance of the gentiles for the Church (Lk. 2.30-35; 4.23-30). Among his informants were Hellenistic Christians who had been exposed to persecutions in Jerusalem, namely Philip (who lived with his four prophesying daughters, Acts 21.8), and especially Paul. Luke had recently seen how Zealots and High Priests endeavored to kill Paul in Jerusalem and Caesarea in A.D. 58-60 (Acts 21.27-25.12). With regard to such problems raised by contemporary Judaism he found it valuable to quote what Jesus was reported to have said about the destruction of Jerusalem, once in his lamentation over the City and once in his apocalyptic speech. It is also to be observed that Luke wrote for readers like Theophilus who did not live in Judea, but were members of Hellenistic and Roman society. The terror called the abomination of desolation did not concern them so much as the destiny of Jerusalem, the city which had crucified Jesus and persecuted his disciples.

No prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem quoted in the Synoptic Gospels is really a prophecy *ex eventu*. When the evangelists wrote, they had not yet been confronted with this event. Had they known of it, they would have felt responsible to emphasize the correspondance between the apocalyptic speech and historical facts, but no attempt

at such a harmonization can be found. On the contrary, there are serious discrepancies between the apocalyptic predictions and the historical tragedy.

IV

In another sense, however, the revelations in question are partly to be regarded as prophecies *ex eventu*. They were probably based on sayings of Jesus preserved in the memory of his disciples, but later tradents and evangelists could not help adapting the logia to the later experiences of the Church.¹ Within the apocalyptic teaching of Jesus such utterances were emphasized as could be quoted against seducers and persecutors to whom the Palestinian Christians were exposed in the apostolic period.

1. Matthew 24.4-8; Mark 13.5-8; Luke 21.8-11, that is, the Synoptic description of the first kind of travails expected to precede the appearance of the so-called abomination (Mt. 24.15; Mk. 13.14) or the encircling of Jerusalem (Lk. 21.20), was obviously influenced by concrete experiences of the believers after the Golgotha drama of A.D. 33 : (1) The warning against false Messiahs (Mt. 24.4-5; Mk. 13.5-6; Lk. 21.8) was quoted with regard to several prophets who caused unrest in the Holy Land during the years between the death of Jesus and the beginning of the Jewish war. Many people were fascinated by a prophet who preached at Mount Gerizim ca. A.D. 35 (Josephus *Ant.* 18.85-87), then by Simon Magus in Samaria in A.D. 36 (Acts 8.9), as well as by Theudas, ca. A.D. 45 (Josephus *Ant.* 20.97-99). Finally there was the Egyptian who came with thousands of Sicarii on the Mount of Olives, ca. A.D. 55 (Acts 21.38, Josephus *Bell.* 2.261-263; *Ant.* 20.169-172). (2) The rumor of wars, implying that one nation will fight with another and one kingdom with another (Mt. 24.6-7a; Mk. 13.7-8a; Lk. 21.9-10), has no similarity with Vespasian's local enterprise against the Jewish Zealots, because the reference is to a rumor coming from outside and concerning struggles between different nations and kingdoms of the commonwealth. It must be a question of those nations and kingdoms into which the civilized world known by the believers was supposed to be distributed,

¹ L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another* (Leiden : Brill, 1970), p. 30, with regard to Mark 13. 21-23 : "The warning, and to some extent the prediction, go back to words of Jesus, but the actual formulation of the latter has been influenced by scripture and is phrased in the language of the church."

that is, of Greeks (in a broad sense, including Syrians and Romans) and Jews on the one hand, of the Roman and the Parthian empires on the other. Many hard struggles between Greeks and Jews took place in the cities of the East during the apostolic period, and the Christians had to be warned by Paul and other against being enticed by Jewish Zealotism. In particular the campaigns of the Romans against the Parthians (A.D. 36 and 55) inspired the Jewish nationalists to violent activities, and in such cases it was useful for the Christians of Palestine to hear that Jesus had rejected any confusion of a political crisis with the end of the world. (3) Jesus was also said to have spoken of famines and earthquakes as trials of the Church necessarily coming before the final drama would begin (Mt. 24.7b-8; Mk. 13.8b; Lk. 21.11 adds pestilences and celestial phenomena). During the apostolic period Palestinian Christianity was exposed to a serious famine around A.D. 46 (Acts 11.27-30; Josephus *Ant.* 3.320-321; 20.51-55, 101). They heard of earthquakes for instance in Syria, namely at Antioch in 37 (Malalas *Chron.* 10.243.10-15), and in Phrygia at Apamea in 53 (Tacitus *Annals* 12.58.3), and especially at Laodicea, which was completely destroyed in 60 (Tacitus *Annals* 14.27.1) and a second time in 64 along with Colosse and Hierapolis (Eusebius *Chron.* 183. 21f., ed. Helm; the latter catastrophe was not yet known to Paul according to Col. 4.13, 15). Such plagues should not incite the Christians to desperate actions.

2. Matthew 24.9-14; Mark 13.9-13; Luke 21.19, the Synoptic description of the second kind of travails predecating the final drama, is especially instructive. Here a Jewish persecution is expected to come upon the disciples of Jesus in the apostolic period immediately before the abomination will stand in the Temple, or before the gentiles will attack the City. Matthew partly used this synoptic tradition of a Jewish persecution to illustrate the speech given by Jesus when he first sent out the Twelve (Mt. 10.17-21), so that his version of the persecution is to be studied in two different contexts (Mt. 24.9a + 10.17-21 + 24. 9b-14). The references below will only be to Mark and Luke because these evangelists represent a less complicated picture, but Matthew does have parallels to every item. In the whole pericope the warnings of Jesus were literally applied to what met the Christians in the days of Stephen, James I, Paul and James II.

(1) Corresponding to what happened to the early Church, it was foretold that Jewish opponents would lay their hands on the disciples (Lk. 21.12a; cf. Acts 4.2; 5.18), persecute them (Lk. 21.12a; cf. Acts

8.1), and deliver them up to councils and synagogues to be imprisoned and beaten (Mk. 13.9a; Lk. 21.12b; cf. Acts 4.3; 5.17, 40; 8.3; 9.2). (2) Because of the same Jewish antagonism the disciples would have to defend themselves before governors and kings, but also to bear witness to Christ in front of such authorities (Mk. 13.9b; Lk. 21.12c-13), and this in fact became their experience, in particular that of Paul (Acts 19.12; 25.24). (3) Their advocate would be the Holy Spirit (Mk. 13.11) or Jesus himself (Lk. 21.14-15a), and this experience was ascribed to Peter and John when they had been arrested in Jerusalem (Acts 4.8, 13). Jesus had also promised that this disciples would be filled with wisdom so that nobody should be able to withstand or contradict them (Lk. 21.15b), and this is exactly what is said to have characterized Stephen (Acts 6.10, almost literally corresponding to Lk. 21.15b). (4) In accordance with the idea of a final chaos of social life (Micah 7.6), the believers were expected to be denounced and thus brought to death by their own relatives (Mk. 13.12; Lk. 21.16), and though family tragedies of that particular kind are not known from the apostolic period, the picture is a condensation of what generally happened in Palestine under the Judaistic pressure. Christians were betrayed by their Jewish countrymen, for instance at the persecution of James I, ca. A.D. 42 (Acts 12.2), of several Judean churches ca. A.D. 52 (I Thess. 2.14)¹, of Paul in 58 (Acts 21.21, 27) and of James II in 62 (Josephus *Ant.* 20. 200). (5) According to Mark and Luke, the disciples would be hated by all because of their relation, to Jesus (Mk. 13.13a; Lk. 21.17), and in the present context this refers to the difficulties with the Jews (cf. Mk. 13.12, 14; Lk. 21.6, 21). Jewish attacks on Christians are known from the period in which the Zealots were active [see above, (4)], but not from the years after the first Jewish war. Matthew gave this point a different meaning by saying that the believers would be hated by all the gentiles (Mt. 24.9). He added "the gentiles" because he still harbored more positive hopes for the Jewish people in his environment which, for good reasons, is generally supposed to have been some parts of Syria not far from Galilee. Early experiences of Christians by which this prediction would seem to be verified were the conspiracy of the Jews and Nabateans against Paul in Damascus in A.D. 37 (Acts 9.24; I Cor. 11.32), the subsequent conspiracy of Hellenists against him in Jerusalem

¹ Bo Reicke, *The New Testament Era*, trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 205.

(Acts 9.29), and the expulsion of Jews and Christians from Rome in the year 50 (Acts 18.2). A later experience was the persecution of the Christians in Rome under Nero in A.D. 65, and when it happened, it can also have been understood as a confirmation of earlier prophecies. Because of the following verses, however, Matthew must rather be supposed to have been concerned with the situation of Christianity within Judaism during the years preceding this catastrophe (Mt. 24.10-12). Here the warnings include treachery (v. 10), false prophets (v. 11), and anarchy leading to a general loss of people's good will (v. 12). This is reminiscent of the impostors (*πλάντοι*), Zealots and murders (*sicarii*) who terrorized people in Palestine after A.D. 50 and especially 54 (Josephus *Bell.* 2. 223-246, 253-265; *Ant.* 20. 160-172). Matthew's concern was that Christians should endure in spite of such troubles and spread the gospel to all nations before the end comes (Mt. 24.13-14). The situation presupposed by Matthew corresponds to what is known about Christianity in Palestine between A.D. 50 and ca. 64, but not after the flight of the Christians in ca. 64 and the start of the Jewish war in A.D. 66. Although that resistance of the environment against Christians, characterizing the period before the end-time would be announced by the abomination of desolation (Mt. 24.15), was thus interpreted by Matthew in a way somewhat different from Mark and Luke, all the Synoptic evangelists permitted the revelations of Jesus on this period to be colored by the experience of Judean Christians in the difficult years when the Zealotic terror was their great problem.

* * *

In this sense the allusions of the Synoptic Gospels to different travails — in Matthew and Mark they were supposed to precede the appearance of the so-called abomination, in Luke to precede the destruction of Jerusalem — were partly elaborated as prophecies *ex eventu*. They were probably based on sayings of Jesus, and nevertheless permitted to coincide with experiences made in the apostolic period. But neither these predictions (above, IV) nor those on the destruction of the Temple and the City (above, I, II, and III) indicate any historical knowledge of the first Jewish war and its results. From this point of view it seems correct to assume that Matthew, Mark and Luke wrote their Gospels before the war began.

The pre-war dating of the Synoptic Gospels makes it possible to avoid the crucial problem raised by the last verses of Acts. Luke suddenly concluded his second book with an indication of Paul's

two years in Rome in A.D. 60-62 (Acts 28.30) without bringing any information about his later destiny. Paul, when taking farewell of the Ephesians, was said to have prophesied his martyrdom, but his misgivings were vague and not fulfilled with regard to Ephesus (Acts 20.35, 38; I Tim. 1.3). The only reasonable explanation for the abrupt ending of Acts is the assumption that Luke did not know anything of events later than 62 when he wrote his two books. If the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke were composed before Acts, they were also written before A.D. 62.¹

¹ When reading the proofs of this paper, the author was confronted with the article by J. O'Callaghan, "¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumran?" *Biblica*, 53 (1972), 91-100, and the comments by C.M. Martini, "Note sui papiri della grotta 7 di Qumran," *Biblica*, 53 (1972), 101-104. O'Callaghan ascribes two Greek papyrus fragments from Cave 7 at Qumran to the Gospel of Mark (7Q6,1 = Mk. 4.28; 7Q5 = Mk. 6.52-53). If this attribution is correct, the dating of the Synoptic Gospels before the war of A.D. 66-70 is confirmed by archaeology, for Cave 7 does not seem to have been made and used after the destruction of the Qumran settlement in A.D. 68. However, since only a few letters were available for the reconstruction of the context, we consider O'Callaghans identification as being an interesting possibility until further evidence is provided.

LUKE, THE LITERARY PHYSICIAN

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The early years of Paul's life are quite unknown. That he was a Jew of orthodox parents; that he followed the tradition of the Pharisees in his interpretation of Torah, as did most Jews; that he was strict to the point of fanaticism in his reverence for the Jewish law and traditions; that he joined heartily in seeking to suppress the followers of the crucified Jesus, whose contention that God had signally blessed Jesus by raising him from the dead and was in consequence blessing them in their passionate confidence of his speedy return, appeared to him blasphemy—this is our sum of knowledge of his pre-Christian days. Then had come his conversion from heated opponent to equally passionate champion.

To this picture Acts adds a number of colorful details: he was born and brought up in Tarsus; he later studied under Gamaliel in Jerusalem; he had been present as a supporter of those Jews who had murdered Stephen; subsequently while en route to Damascus, armed with supporting credentials from the Jewish high priest licensing him to run amok in that city, he had a vision of Jesus, the details of which are confused since they vary substantially in the three accounts which the book provides. In Damascus, aided by a disciple named Ananias, he regains his sight, which the vision had cost him; or, as the story is told, we are surely to understand: he gained a new and truer sight. After a period of preaching in Damascus he had been menaced by the Jews but had been enabled to escape them, and having so done had hastily fled to—of all places—Jerusalem. Here too he met opposition, and to aid him to escape the hostile Jews the "brethren" took him to Caesarea, whence he embarked for his home town Tarsus. Here he drops out of sight until somewhat later when Barnabas brought him to Antioch, where a flourishing Christian work was underway. Speedily he became influential in that center until, after another trip to Jerusalem, he starts out on a series of missionary journeys to the gentile world, returning constantly to Antioch which was, so to speak, his home base.

These added details, of which the majority are most uncertain, with several quite improbable, have given the traditional picture of Paul, in the light of which we have been wont to read—and often misread—his own letters, which, while rarely deliberately autobiographical, do have many usable sidelights.

The question arises : where does Luke—I use that designation as more convenient than “the author of Luke-Acts”—gain this material from which he weaves or spins his cloth? The traditional answer is either (1) from his own knowledge of Paul and his doings, which he had obtained as a fellow traveler and intimate friend, or (2) for those to whom modern work on Luke-Acts has made the role of “fellow traveler and intimate friend” unlikely, from sources providentially available to him but which lamentably vanished as soon as he had made use of them.

In addition to these two imagined wellsprings of information there is a third which for nearly a century has been disregarded—not uncommonly hotly denied—the letters of Paul himself. Since in Acts, despite its more than obvious concern for Paul, there is no hint that Paul ever wrote letters, it has been a bit overconfidently assumed that Luke did not know them or even know of them. Occasional voices have been raised to challenge that easy assumption as unlikely. More recently there have been attempts to account for his seemingly deliberate silence. I have long been convinced that not only did Luke know of these letters but made use of them as a principal source of knowledge for the story which he is penning of the one who, above all others, was responsible for the birth and development of the gentile mission.

Thoughtful reading of the first three gospels should be sufficient to convince any open-minded reader that Luke has unhesitatingly rewritten his “sources” in view of what he regarded the first real step to the gentile mission, which was no new or sudden step on the part of disciples who found after their leader’s death Jerusalem too hot to remain in. Rather, it was part and parcel of God’s unfolding plan, to be discovered at every step of the way, had men only eyes to see. It had been foreshadowed by the chorus of angels to the shepherds at the time of the Savior’s birth :

Glory to God in the highest and on earth, Peace to the men of his choice.¹

¹ Luke 2.14.

It had been blessed and furthered by Jesus himself, first in his opening words at Nazareth—made by Luke definitely the opening event of the ministry—then in his endorsement of the Samaritans. It had been glimpsed in the scene at Pentecost with its assembled multitudes, in the word of Cornelius to Peter, of Paul before the Areopagus, in Paul's final and climactic word at Rome. From the opening page of the Gospel to the closing page of Acts—what a pity that the continuity of this book should have been broken by the insertion of the Gospel of John between its two unbroken sections—there is thus a steady and orderly advance. It is all a part of the eternal purpose of God who knows the end from the beginning and of whom it cannot be said, "He repented himself and made a new beginning". For the first part of the story we can see the way he utilized and unhesitatingly recast his sources and added to them.

The rejection at Nazareth is brought forward from its place in Mark and, expanded by quotations from Isaiah and references to Elijah and Elisha, made the first clear sounding of the melodic note to be constantly orchestrated. Correcting Matthew's word forbidding the disciples to go into the way of the gentiles or to enter a city of the Samaritans,¹ Luke not only conspicuously describes their entry into a city of the Samaritans,² but makes it the opening event of a section—the so-called "Travel Section"—interpolated into Mark at the close of the Galilean ministry, in which the sending out of the Seventy and the several Samaritan episodes make it clearly a deliberate parallel to the Jewish mission in Galilee.

The high probability is that Luke showed no greater restraint in the second half of his writing. In addition to the sources he utilized for the early chapters of Acts and which can be but tentatively inferred from his resultant text, in view of the way he treated Mark and Matthew—or as many would prefer, Mark and Q—it is my contention, as already remarked, that another source, and a principal one, for Luke were the letters of Paul which he both knew and utilized without acknowledgement.

No better example of Luke's craftsmanship in articulating usable materials from the letters into a continuous account of Paul's career, where one step leads logically and continuously to the next, is to be found than in what may be styled "Paul's pre-Damascus days".

¹ Matthew 10.5-6.

² Luke 9.51-56.

In Paul's letters our first glimpse of him is at Damascus.¹ No hint is given as to why he chanced to be in that city or from where he had come. These lacunae Luke skillfully fills in, in all probability, as it seems to me, not from independent knowledge or "available tradition" but by deduction from the letters themselves : he was a citizen of Tarsus, had in fact been born there ; thence he had gone to Jerusalem where he had been a pupil of Gamaliel. He had been present at the stoning of Stephen, had later gone from Jerusalem, armed with letters of authority from the high priest there, to Damascus. As he had neared the city, his dramatic conversion took place.

It has long been recognized, although often not frankly admitted, that the Stephen incident—especially Paul's tenuous connection with it—is unlikely history. It would seem definitely a Lukan invention and central in his logically developing story. Stephen's execution was the start of the gentile mission, as Luke's studiously repeated word makes clear : "They therefore that were scattered upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen went about preaching the word ...".² Though the mission started from Jerusalem, the channel through which it reached the uttermost parts of the earth was Paul. This Luke expands in the second half of the account. In order to join these two strains and to make the latter the outgrowth of the former he brings Paul into connection with what he had chosen as the start of the gentile mission. The abrupt appearance of Paul in the story of the death of Stephen and the inconsequential part Paul plays in it certainly arouse suspicion that the author has worked over a story which originally had no mention of Paul in order to connect him with the event of which he was to prove the chief agent. It also provides a background for Paul's own word as to his activity as a persecutor.

Having definitely connected Paul with Jerusalem and the persecution there—surely the mention of Paul's study with Gamaliel, for which there is no slightest trace in any of Paul's own words, serves simply as the explanation of why the Tarsan Jew was in Jerusalem at the time of Stephen's death—he attempts to reconcile this redrawn picture with the historical fact, seemingly so clear in Paul's word to the Galatians, that Damascus, not Jerusalem, was the place where the rightabout-face took place. Again, were the episode to be regarded as historic fact, problems would arise. The precise value of those letters

¹ Gal. 1.7.

² Acts 8.4; 11.19.

would be obscure. They could hardly have been more than letters of introduction, since the high priest's (or the Sanhedrin's) authority did not extend beyond the border of the Roman province of Judea. It would be different to imagine the Roman authorities in Damascus recognizing their validity or consenting to any very active persecution by the Jerusalem emissary. But with such details Luke is unconcerned. His effort is to provide a plausible explanation of Paul's hostility and to reconcile it with the tradition of his Damascene activity—both of which were attested by Paul himself.

Nor is this arbitrary union of two different strains without precedent in Luke's writing. In Luke 2 we have the story of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem. With this tradition, also given by Matthew, Luke is familiar, and as he writes his account he accepts it. But while Matthew gives no intimation that Jesus' parents had lived anywhere else, and, instead expressly states that after their return from Egypt they emigrated to Nazareth to escape the attention of Archelaus, Luke is aware of the tradition that Nazareth, not Bethlehem, was the original home of Joseph and Mary. Yet Jesus, great David's greater son, had been born in Bethlehem. To bridge this difficulty, or rather to connect two divergent and contradictory traditions, he introduces the census of Quirinius, which did not take place until after the deposition of Archelaus, to explain how it was that folks had left their home in Nazareth at so critical a moment. To this end he rewrites the story, recasting the matter of the census—both its scope and date—and introducing the details of the birth in a manger or cattle stall, which is, of course, not found in Matthew's account, where the birth took place in a house, presumably the house of Joseph and Mary. The possible objection—here I forestall my critics' easy charge that it is poor criticism to introduce one debatable point to prove another—is hardly apt. To close one's eyes to obvious parallels of literary construction and to try to cast an ancient author, striving to pen a continuous and growing account, in the role of a modern historian whose one endeavor is—or should be—not to slant facts to accord with his own notions is scarcely a rewarding approach to a work like Luke-Acts.

With this clue in mind we can well examine another incident or chapter in Paul's "pre-Christian background", namely, his early years in Tarsus. Has not Luke himself deduced and himself read into the story precisely this matter? As he tells the story, before Paul starts upon his gentile mission—ordained by the elders at Antioch—he had spent some time in Tarsus, from where he is most lamely and un-

convincingly brought to Antioch by Barnabas. Again the narrative limps very definitely. Where had Luke found this chapter? Was it not his own deduction from a hint or word in Paul's own letter? Was not "Tarsus" Luke's own understanding of "Syria and Cilicia"?¹ Is he not making Paul go to his own home town prior to the start of his mission, precisely as he had so expressly done for Jesus?

At the start of the narrative we style Luke-Acts stands the story of the Rejection at Nazareth.² In this carefully and artfully composed passage the theme or motif is expressed which is to occur again and again throughout the two-volume work. In a very real sense it may be styled the melodic note; it may also be very properly called apologetic. Throughout the first part—our Gospel—Luke is at pains to prove that Jesus was the true Jewish Messiah, He had come to the Jews, had been born of the seed of David; but they had rejected him. Christianity was the new Israel. Gentile Christianity had not arisen through wanton neglect on the part of Jesus to go to the Jews. Far from it; he had gone to them, but they had rejected him. This is the framework of the Lukan writing, and accounts for the prominent position of this episode at the start of the Gospel. From the materials in Mark 6.1-6 and a quotation from Isaiah Luke reconstructs the incident with a speech in Jesus' mouth to sound the note: "Salvation has come to men." It had been present in the world from the moment of the Messiah's birth and had been hymned by the heavenly host; now it was openly and clearly fulfilled. Although those to whom Jesus preached—even his immediate followers—failed to realize that this salvation was for all men, irrespective of race or stature, Jew or gentile, strict adherent of the law or outcast, such it was. Thus Jesus is made to refer to the experiences of Elijah and Elisha—the one with the widow of Sarepta, the other with Naaman, both gentiles.

It is surely legitimate criticism to ponder if this is not the explanation for Luke's mention of Tarsus as the place to which Paul goes after his visit to Jerusalem and prior to his appearance as a missionary to the gentiles. Paul himself had remarked that after the brief visit to Jerusalem he had gone to "Syria and Cilicia".³ As Luke ponders this terse and unqualified word, it is surely not unlikely that he sees—or thinks that he sees—a reason. Tarsus was the most prominent city of Cilicia. The reason Paul went there was the same as that which

¹ Gal. 1.22.

² Luke 4.16-30.

³ Gal. 1.21.

led Jesus to return to Nazareth prior to his work in Capernaum and the lakeside of Galilee, This striking parallel in literary structure, each the prelude to a world-shaking ministry, is surely not wisely disregarded.

Thus the almost unanimous readiness of critics to accept the birth and probable upbringing of Paul, then known as Saul, in Tarsus as reliable tradition appears to me open to more than possible question, and to be an unwise, if not actually very dangerous, denial of the growing conviction that it is from Paul's letters alone that we can safely derive our picture of Paul. John Knox's word in his incisive and rewarding study of Paul fairly represents most current thinking :

The same thing can be said about the second item—Paul's birth in Tarsus. This, too, rests only upon the testimony of Acts (22:3). But again there is no obvious reason why Paul should have mentioned it and no plausible reason why Luke should have invented it ...".¹

To me this is far from convincing, for there does seem a very "plausible reason" why Luke should have invented it and an equally plausible source for his invention, namely, Paul's own unamplified mention of Cilicia, which would as naturally suggest Tarsus to most in the Near East as Massachusetts would Boston to most outside New England.

Nor is this a minor point of little consequence. There is probably no other one detail more important in shaping popular appraisals of Paul than this word of his birth in Tarsus. It is this, not "the general impression the letters give", which has led to the confident styling him a "Jew of the Diaspora", who through contacts, perhaps education, in a "hellenistic university town" had been alienated from the traditions of his fathers and could thus speak slightly of the Jewish law and discard it as "refuse",² as no unspoiled Jew brought up under the shadow of Zion could do.

Together with the reference to Tarsus as the birthplace of Paul is the repeated reference to him as "Saul". Again this detail is limited to Acts, for Paul never alludes to it; but it has been widely accepted, even by the most critical. Twenty times in Acts Paul is styled "Saul" : of these fifteen are in the Graecized form "Saulos";³ five in the transliterated "Saoul",⁴ this latter only as a vocative in the mouth of the resurrected Jesus or of Ananias, who according to Luke had aided

¹ John Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (New York, 1950), p. 34.

² Phil. 3.8.

³ Σαῦλος.

⁴ Σαούλ = שָׁאוּל.

in Paul's recovery after the conversion trauma.¹ Save for three of these vocatives—all in later speeches by Paul referring to his conversion—this is the only way Paul is referred to until the story of the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, following the denunciation and blasting of Elymas the magician—the first incident detailed by Luke of his hero. And in this, the last of the fifteen, come the words, "But Saul, who is also Paul".² From then on throughout the narrative, whether of his exploits in gentile territory or in Jerusalem, he is always referred to as Paul. The one thing that makes this matter, superficially of but trivial concern, of possible significance is the seeming import Luke gives to it, in what is scarcely a casual or accidental treatment.

Twice Paul refers with pride to his ancestry in the tribe of Benjamin.³ The first Israelite king, Saul, son of Kish, was the most prominent member of this tribe. Thus to most students the fact that Paul bore that Jewish name has not seemed unlikely, quite apart from such questions as to whether the actual descent—were books of genealogies according to tribes available at this date?—is factual or due to proud family tradition. That Jews often had gentile names as well as Jewish—and that these often resembled each other : Jason-Joshua (Jesus)—is too well known to need argument.

The one matter of concern in this superficially petty problem is Luke's source of knowledge. Did he find this minor detail in other sources then available to him or did he deduce it, as we so easily can, from these two words in Paul's letters? If we accept, as most apparently do, the first of the two hypotheses, the question then rises : If Paul from his earliest days had both names, when and what led him to prefer the Latinized Paul? That the change was Paul's own and due to modesty—the Latin adjective *paulus* means "little", as Augustine surmised—⁴ or that it was in connection with his Roman citizenship—another item never mentioned or claimed by Paul but known to us solely from Acts—these are but profitless guesses.

As Luke tells the story, his interpretation is clear. The man's name was Saul; the change to Paul was another rightabout-face. It came when the man started his gentile mission. Whether the first convert, as Luke tells the story, was actually Sergius Paulus⁵ or whether

¹ Acts 9.10-19.

² Acts 13.9.

³ Phil. 3.5; Rom. 11.1.

⁴ *De spiritu et littera* 12; *Serm.* 279.5; 315.5.

⁵ Acts 13.7.

this is a literary detail invented for the purpose is debatable. But the fact that he was always Saul until this incident, and always Paul thereafter, is certainly to be seen as a deliberate literary touch. Naturally when Paul is made to refer back to his conversion experience and to quote the word of the Lord to him, the latter speaking Hebrew had hailed him by the name he then bore. Thus I am forced to conclude that here, as so constantly, it is quite unnecessary to search after long-vanished sources available to Luke. This point which he deduced and of which he made so effective use lies crystal-clear, although unexpressed in Paul's own writings. Nor is it without interest that in the one other place where a Saul is mentioned in Acts—Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch—Luke's phrasing of the reference, "And God gave unto them Saul, son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin",¹ suggests that he is consciously emphasizing that the Saul who is speaking was also a Benjamite, and has deliberately used the Hebrew spelling of the name (Saoul) to avoid confusion with the other one-time Saul.

To me the evidence seems plain. The common denial—a comparatively recent insistence²—that Luke knew or used the Pauline letters needs fresh consideration instead of automatic repetition. As I have tried to show, there is no detail in the story Luke tells of Paul's days prior to his conversion which Luke could not have deduced from the material in the letters. To those enamoured of the quest for vanished sources and to whom the more complicated and obscure and less likely is always preferable to the simpler and more obvious, all this will likely seem most unacceptable, especially as it would view Luke as an author with ideas, not a slavish compiler who can repeat but never revise or invent. Both in theology and in the examination of writings long since canonical, the more obscure and too often the more unlikely has a fatal charm. For such Tertullian's oft-quoted *Credo quia absurdum* still has point.

¹ Acts 13.21.

² Cf. my article, "Once Again, Luke and Paul", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 61 (1970), 253-71, for this evidence. In this article the question of Luke's probable knowledge and use of the Pauline letters is argued in some detail.

THE CENSUS IN LUKE AS AN APOLOGETIC DEVICE

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Few verses of the New Testament are more familiar than the beginning of the second chapter of the Gospel according to Luke : ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην · αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου¹ According to the story, this census required Joseph and Mary to travel from Nazareth in Galilee to David's town of Bethlehem in Judaea.

The literature on the infancy narratives in the first and third gospels is immense. Much of the work on the first two chapters in Luke has concentrated on the question of sources² and literary form and structure,³ which is usually connected with the relationship between the infancy narrative and the rest of the gospel. This paper

¹ Lk. 2.1-2, New American Bible : "In those days Caesar Augustus published a decree ordering a census of the whole world. This first census took place when Cyrinius was governor of Syria."

² See, e.g., the numerous articles by Paul Winter, including : "Magnificat and Benedictus-Maccabean Psalms?" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 37 (1954), 328-47; "Some Observations on the Language in the Birth and Infancy Stories of the Third Gospel," *New Testament Studies*, 1 (1954), 111-21; "Luke 2:49 and Targum Yerushalmi", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 45 (1954), 145-79, with corrections in 46 (1955), 140f.; "The Cultural Background of the Narrative in Luke I and II", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 45 (1954-55), 159-67, 230-42 and 287 ("the printed article contains regrettably a number of alterations in the ms. made without my knowledge"); "Hoti 'recitativum' in Luke 1:25, 61; 1:23", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 46 (1955), 261-63; "The Proto-Sources of Luke I," *Novum Testamentum*, 1 (1956), 184-99; "On Luke and Lucan Sources", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 47 (1956), 217-42; "Acta 15:14 und die lukanische Kompositionstechnik", *Evangelische Theologie*, 17 (1957), 399-406; "The Main Literary Problem of the Lucan Infancy Story", *Anglican Theological Review*, 40 (1958), 257-64; cf. R. McL. Wilson, "Some Recent Studies in the Lucan Infancy Narratives", *Studia Evangelica*, ed. Kurt Aland, et. al., Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. 73 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 235-54.

³ René Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II* (Paris, 1957). Martin Dibelius, "Jungfrauensohn und Krippenkind. Untersuchungen zur Geburtsgeschichte Jesu im Lukas-evangelium", *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie*, Abh. 4 (Heidelberg, 1932); reprinted in Günther Bornkamm, ed., *Botschaft und Geschichte* (Tübingen, 1953), pp. 1-78.

will concentrate on a much narrower question which, however, is bound to have considerable influence upon the wider concerns of the gospel as a whole. The problem of the historical reliability of Luke's statements on the census under Quirinius has been discussed innumerable times, and most commentators seem to take one or the other of three positions : (1) Luke's account can be shown to be historically accurate;¹ (2) although no evidence exists for definite proof of Luke's accuracy, neither has it been shown that Luke is wrong and he should be given the benefit of doubt;² (3) Luke made a mistake, either because he misunderstood his sources³ or because he consciously wished to connect the birth of Jesus with the census, even though he was aware that this conflicted with historical facts.⁴

This paper will endorse the position that Luke's historical accuracy in connection with his statement on the census under Quirinius cannot be defended on the basis of the available evidence; it will further attempt to show that the author of the Third Gospel had a definite apologetic goal in mind when he connected the birth of Jesus with the Roman census.

I

The passage Lk. 2.1-2 becomes problematic when placed beside the birth narrative in Mt. which dates the event during the lifetime of Herod and the writings of Flavius Josephus who tells us in a number of passages of a census held by Quirinius in all of Syria, including the newly annexed territory of Judaea, in the year 6 or 7 of our era :

¹ The most detailed defense of this position is still William Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (London, 1915), esp. chapter 18 (pp. 222-37, "Approach to the Gospel of Luke"). Cf. H. Dessau, "Zu den neuen Inschriften des Sulpicius Quirinus", *Klio*, 17 (1921), 252-58.

² Cf. Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, 1956), p. 106 : "Taking all facts into consideration, we may confidently assert that no one has yet succeeded in *proving* that Luke is mistaken. On the contrary, according as our knowledge of the historical circumstances of the times has increased, the accuracy and trustworthiness of Luke's statements have become more clearly evident". Cf. also K.H. Rengstorff, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Das Neue Testament Deutsch, Bd. 3 (Göttingen, 1962).

³ So basically Emil Schürer in *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, I³,⁴ (Leipzig, 1901), 519-43.

⁴ Horst Braunert, "Der römische Provinzialzensus und der Schätzungsbericht des Lukas-Evangeliums", *Historia*, 6 (1957), 192-214; this article contains a careful summary of the modern literature on the problem.

Now the property subject to Archelaus was added to (the province of) Syria, and Quirinius, a man of consular rank, was sent by Caesar to take a census of property in Syria and to sell the estate of Archelaus.¹

Quirinius, a Roman senator who had proceeded through all the magistracies to the consulship and a man who was extremely distinguished in other respects, arrived in Syria, dispatched by Caesar to be governor of the nation and to make an assessment of their property. Coponius, a man of equestrian rank, was sent along with him to rule over the Jews with full authority. Quirinius also visited Judaea, which had been annexed to Syria, in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus.²

Many attempts have been made to harmonize the conflicting reports, and it is perhaps a less than impressive reflection upon certain trends in modern biblical scholarship that even after Emil Schürer had shown as definitively as the evidence permits that the accounts cannot be brought into agreement with one another, efforts in this direction have not yet entirely been given up. Most of the more recent attempts to rescue the historical reliability of Luke have failed to throw any fresh light on the matter. They rest more on the hope that the reader may not have access to the material in Schürer than on new evidence or fresh ideas, but they do allow some interesting insights into much of contemporary biblical and historical scholarship, for, as we shall see, this kind of dogmatic reading of the evidence is by no means restricted to authors from whom a deep concern for the reliability of scripture could be expected.

The arguments against the Lucan account were best summarized by Schürer, and they deserve to be mentioned again at this point.

1. History, except for the passage in Luke, knows nothing of a general census throughout the Roman Empire during the reign of Augustus.
2. A Roman census could not have obliged Joseph to travel to Bethlehem and Mary to accompany him.
3. A Roman census could not be carried out at all in Palestine during the time of Herod.
4. Josephus knows nothing of a Roman census in Palestine at the time of Herod; on the contrary, he speaks of the census in A.D.7 as something new and unheard of.

¹ Josephus *Ant.* 17. 355; trans. Ralph Marcus and A.P. Wikgren, *Josephus*, vol. VIII, Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge, 1963).

² *Ant.* 18.1-2; trans. L. Feldman.

5. A census held under Quirinius could not fall into the time of Herod, since during Herod's lifetime Quirinius was never governor of Syria.¹

This is a formidable list of problems, and no one has ever come close to solving all of them. The idea of a general census throughout the Roman Empire under Augustus has generally been given up—we know too much about the census pattern at that time for this idea to carry any more than rhetorical force. The other four points, however, are still defended today, and in some instances the arguments sound impressive and would carry weight if they could be combined with similarly strong support of the other points. But this no scholar has been able to accomplish.

The most persistent line of defense has been that involving the time or times at which Quirinius was governor of Syria. William Ramsay argued, on the basis of epigraphical evidence, that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, the first time from 11-10 B.C. to 8-7 B.C. and then again a decade later.² We need not repeat all the arguments against Ramsay, but a look at his method of operation is instructive. He has the courage to state his presuppositions in a manner few authors who share them have imitated.

Ramsay calls Luke a "great historian" and proceeds to state his definition of a great historian with perfect clarity: "the great historian is great in virtue of his permanent quality of mind. If an author can be guilty of any such perversion of history as has been attributed to the writer of Luke 2.1-3, he cannot deserve the rank and name of historian".³ There can be no fault with Luke; on the contrary, it is the modern critic who has gone astray, and Ramsay is able to tell us exactly where the sceptical critic has made his fundamental mistake:

The reason for that feeling of triumph on the part of many critics lay of course

¹ Schürer, *op. cit.*, Cf. also Erich Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 2. Aufl., Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Bd. 5 (Stuttgart, 1929), pp. 32ff.; F.-X. Steinmetzer, "Census", *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II, cols. 969-72.

² For a brief summary of the hypothesis see A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 163-66, esp. 163, n. 5, with the text of the relevant passage: *proconsul Asiam provinciam op[tinuit. legatus pr. pr.] divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph[oenicem] optinuit*. There is no clear evidence at all for the thesis that this unnamed official was Sulpicius Quirinius, even if the text should actually mean that the person involved was twice legate of Syria, an interpretation which is far from certain.

³ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

in the *desire to discredit the superhuman element in the history*. Their *hostility to Luke* arose out of their *refusal* to admit the superhuman element of the world.¹

No serious scholar would have encountered genuine problems with the text, there is a moral flaw in anyone who dares to disagree with either Luke or Ramsay : "No explanation was given why [Luke] inserted such a tissue of falsehoods in his story, except perhaps the desire of an ignorant person to show off his scraps of learning, without ability to put them correctly".²

It would be difficult, indeed, to find a clearer expression of the confusion between history and theology, a confusion which has by no means disappeared and does not seem to be restricted to authors writing from a Christian apologetic perspective. On the one hand, Ramsay defines Luke as a "great historian" in a crudely positivistic sense, and on the other hand he insists that superhuman elements are involved in so prosaic a task as the dating of a census in one of the outlying provinces of the Roman Empire. We must admit, however, that before the work of the form critics, and for Luke-Acts this means primarily Martin Dibelius, any scholar who wished to question the historical accuracy of a biblical statement was almost forced into the use of such categories as "truth" and "falsehood". There were scholars, of course, who distinguished quite clearly between history and the religious truth of the gospel. But once again Ramsay shows us the difficulties under which such men had to labor and the type of criticism they had to endure. A. Plummer, in his commentary on Luke in the *International Critical Commentary* had tried to state a compromise position.³ Ramsay will have nothing to do with such weakness : "We cannot be content with any such partial and conditional correctness as Dr. Plummer argues for. It is not a case in which some degree of correctness in some parts of the story is of any value. *It is all or naught*".⁴

Among recent scholars, Ethelbert Stauffer has attempted to defend the Lucan account of the Roman census. He offers nothing new, but his arguments have been influential in recent literature. Stauffer tries to solve two of the problems on Schürer's list at the same time : the chronological difference between the likely date of the birth of Jesus

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 225, emphasis added.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

³ Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (New York, 1898).

⁴ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 228, emphasis added.

(i.e., before the death of Herod the Great) and the date of the first known census in Judaea in A.D. 6-7, and the report that Joseph and Mary went from Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem. The solution of the chronological problem appears at first glance to be sound : a census is a complicated administrative procedure consisting of two distinct steps which frequently are several years apart. The first step in a complete census is the ἀπογραφή, a systematic registration of all taxable objects and subjects. This requires the personal appearance of all persons subject to the tax at the appropriate registry office. In the case of Joseph this would be Bethlehem—thus neatly explaining the need for the journey. If, as Stauffer claims, this registration took place under Herod and is the procedure reported in Lk. 2.2 and Acts 5.37, then the objection that it is inconceivable why Joseph should be asked to move from the territory of Herod Antipas (Galilee) to a district under direct Roman jurisdiction (Judaea) would lose all force. But Josephus does not mention any census-like action under Herod and introduces the census in A.D. 6-7 as a new phenomenon.¹ The second and final part of the census is the ἀποτίμῃσις, the official tax assessment. This is the event that Josephus reports. To quote Stauffer :

These two terms and procedures have again and again been interchanged or synchronized, which has led to indescribably much confusion. Everything depends upon the careful separation of these terms and procedures. Only then can one understand that the ἀπογραφή constitutes the beginning, the ἀποτίμῃσις the final part of the lengthy census procedure, which in Gaul lasted over forty years and even in Egypt always required several years.²

It is regrettable that an argument which insists so strongly upon careful scholarship should collapse at the very first glance at the text. Josephus uses both ἀποτίμῃσις and ἀπογραφή in the same passage where, according to Stauffer, only ἀποτίμῃσις would be correct for the final part of the complicated census procedure.³ At one point Josephus even employs both terms in the same sentence in reference to the census under Quirinius.⁴ To quote Martin Hengel : "A differentiation between these two terms is out of the question ; it is simply a matter of style".⁵

¹ *Ant.* 18.3. If a census had actually been started under Herod (and presumably in all of his territories), why was it later completed only in Judaea ?

² Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jesus : Gestalt und Geschichte* (Bern und München, 1957), p. 29.

³ ἀποτίμῃσις in *Ant.* 18.2,4 ; ἀπογραφή in 18.3.

⁴ *Bell.* 7.253 : μὴ ποιείσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς, ὅτε Κυρίνιος τμητῆς εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμψθη.

⁵ Martin Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 1961), p. 133, n. 1.

Stauffer's argument has no substance and could be dismissed outright, had it not been taken over by later authors.¹ Part of his attraction may lie in the fact that, in contrast to the self-righteous zeal of Ramsay, he affects a style more reminiscent of the memoirs of Allen Dulles or Reinhard Gehlen and places the gospel characters into the atmosphere of an occupied country with complicated administrative, intelligence and resistance networks. It all sounds very realistic and up-to-date, but this affectation is hardly a substitute for solid historical scholarship.

Apologetic lines of interpretation are found not only in the writings of biblical commentators or Christian theologians, however. Any extensive reading of modern historians of late antiquity will discover a surprising number of instances in which secular historians for whom no dogmatic presuppositions about the biblical text should be assumed treat the biblical data with a surprising amount of naive trust.²

F.M. Heichelheim, in his contribution on "Roman Syria" in Tenney Frank's *An Economic History of Ancient Rome*, states his position quite frankly :

In the present writer's opinion that passage must be translated and interpreted in a manner that entails no historical impossibility ... A misstatement about the date of the birth of Christ, which is suggested by many distinguished

¹ E.g., Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, 3. Aufl., Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, Bd. 1 (Berlin, 1964), pp. 77ff. Grundmann follows Stauffer also in his argument that a Roman census under Herod the Great would not have been impossible (cf. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 31 : "Aber anno 8 ante wurde [Herodes] wegen selbstherrlichen Verhaltens zum Untertanen degradiert, und Augustus hat diese Degradierung gewiss nicht so rasch und restlos widerrufen, wie der Tendenzbericht des Josephus es behauptet. Das alles spricht dafür, dass Herodes schon vor, spätestens aber nach dem Jahre 8 ante zensusrechtlich mindestens so unfrei war wie die stolzen Nachbarn in Petra und Apamea". (For a similar argument, see A. Schalit, below.) On Grundmann's important insight that Joseph's journey to Bethlehem was a decision against the Zealots, see below.

² For a brief discussion of the problem and a defense of the uncritical acceptance of the gospel record, see Sherwin-White, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-93 : "The Historicity of the Gospels and Graeco-Roman Historiography", where we find the following statement : "So, it is astonishing that while Graeco-Roman historians have been growing in confidence, the twentieth-century study of the Gospel narratives, starting from no less promising material, has taken so gloomy a turn in the development of form-criticism that the more advanced exponents of it maintain ... that the historical Christ is unknowable and that the history of his mission cannot be written". Not surprisingly, Sherwin-White's book contains an excursus defending Luke's account of the census.

scholars, could have been refuted by not only the non-Christians and the Christians living near Bethlehem but also by the family of Christ.¹

It is difficult to understand how as competent a historian as Heichelheim can take for granted the almost fundamentalist understanding of the passage. He presupposes that Bethlehem was the actual birth-place of Jesus, that the Gospel according to Luke would have been read at Bethlehem immediately after its publication outside Palestine and that at this time, i.e. after the war of 66-70, there existed at Bethlehem a Christian community which would have been interested in correcting any false information given by Luke. The concern of Jesus' family about that problem is too naive an argument to require refutation.

Unfortunately, in spite of his determination to rescue the academic honor of Luke the historian, Heichelheim is not able to produce any new argument to prove Luke correct. Since he cannot rescue the text by interpreting it, he offers a different (but by no means new) translation. He translates *πρώτη* as if it were *προτέρα*: "This census was the first before (= *πρώτη*) that under the prefectureship of Quirinius in Syria."² Heichelheim cites in support of his thesis Tertullian,³ "who must have understood the passage in the same manner as we suggest". It must always be considered exceedingly dangerous to try to decide difficult historical questions on the basis of dubious grammatical evidence, but in this particular case it is Luke himself who makes this solution impossible. If the census in Lk. 2.1-2 took place *before* Quirinius was governor, then the one under Quirinius in A.D. 6-7 must have been a second census. This would make it extremely unlikely, if not impossible, that Luke would refer to the census in Acts 5.37 simply as *ἡ ἀπογραφή* without any further qualification. *Πρώτη* in Lk. 2.2 can be translated only in the usual sense: it means "first".

It is somewhat surprising to find the Israeli scholar Abraham

¹ F.M. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria", *An Economic History of Ancient Rome*, ed. Tenney Frank (Baltimore, 1938), IV, 160.

² Klostermann, *op. cit.*, considered such "exegetische Künste, wie der Versuch Huschkes, *πρώτη* ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος κτλ, nach Analogie von Jo 1:15, 30, II Macc 7:41 zu übersetzen: diese Schatzung war eher, als Quirinius Statthalter war, als kaum erwähnenswert." Nevertheless, this argument looked too tempting to be given up, cf. J.M. Lagrange, *Evangile selon saint Luc* (Paris, 1948), p. CXXX; N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the Greek New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1966), pp. 23f.; F.F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (London, 1969), p. 30.

³ *Adv. Marc.* 4.19.

Schalit among those authors who are willing to go to any length in order to defend the accuracy of Luke's report on the census. In his monumental work on Herod,¹ Schalit devotes a whole section to the financial aspects of Herod's rule. His entire line of argumentation is exceedingly conjectural. The solid ground upon which everything is built are the notes in Josephus that on two occasions (20 B.C. and 14 B.C.) Herod reduced the taxes for his people.² Schalit argues that these tax reductions were connected with a census in each of these years. This would indicate that Herod used a six-year cycle for the census, in contrast to the cycle of fourteen years in Ptolemaic Egypt or that of five years in Rome. It is difficult to criticize so distinguished a scholar as Schalit for using unfounded assumptions to an unwarranted degree, and for this reason it is necessary to cite the several steps in his argument *verbatim*.

*We can hardly go wrong in the assumption that the principle according to which [Herod] ordered the tax system hardly differed from the basic rules which guided him in the establishment of the public administration. It is likely, therefore, that he took over in its basic outlines the tax system of the Hasmonaean and then perfected it according to his judgment and requirements. We saw no reason to doubt that Herod collected a head tax from his people and that this tax would have been higher than that of Jannaeus in his time, since his needs were incomparably greater than those of the Hasmonaean king.*³

Secondly, *it makes sense that the imposition of a 'tribute' was a rather convenient and simple way to produce the amounts necessary for the payment of the annual tax to the emperor.*⁴

*We have no explicit evidence nor any other proof for the amount of the head tax in Herod's time. On the basis of the famous narrative in the [NT] (Mt. 22.16-22 par.) some people assume that at the time of Emperor Tiberius people in Judaea paid a head tax of one denarius.*⁵

We have no ways to determine whether Herod took over the Egyptian system of taxation in every detail. It is likely that the tax in Judaea was less since

¹ Abraham Schalit, *König Herodes : Der Mann und sein Werk*, Studia Judaica : Forschungen zur Geschichte des Judentums, Bd. 4 (Berlin, 1969). The German edition is based upon a revised and considerably enlarged version of the Hebrew original. The section on the financial administration of the Herodian kingdom is found on pp. 256-97.

² Josephus *Ant.* 15.365; 16.64.

³ Schalit, *op. cit.*, p. 271, emphasis in all quotations from Schalit added.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* At the time of Tiberius, Judaea was a Roman province, and the Roman census of A.D. 6-7 had taken place !

the country could not bear such a tax burden. *It is likely, nevertheless, that under Herod the head tax was burdensome enough, at any rate immeasurably more burdensome than it had been, on our assumption, under Jannaeus.*¹

Now we are ready for the important conclusion :

*If we assume, then, that Herod took over in its outlines the tax system of Roman Egypt, then it becomes obvious that in Judaea, too, it became necessary to know the number of the inhabitants. Is it possible that Herod had a registration or census in his state ?*²

We are of the opinion that Herod, indeed, introduced a general requirement to register ... Both the king and his officials worked together in order to assure as successful as possible a collection of the head tax which was so important for the state. If they came to the conclusion that this end could be accomplished only through a registration of all inhabitants and their property they would not be deterred by any obstacle on their path. The welfare of the ruler was the overriding concern.

*For this reason we hold that, as a matter of fact, some registration procedures (census) took place during Herod's reign.*³

By such ingenious arguments without factual evidence Schalit not only establishes Herod's tax system, but he can also consider the Lucan account to have been vindicated. He fails, however, to discuss a number of serious difficulties connected with his theory. We know that in A.D. 6-7 the population resisted the taking of the census by Quirinius. Why should Josephus have suppressed any census taken by Herod, particularly since he should have mentioned the several census measures in at least three places : in the two instances where Herod reduced the taxes⁴ (if Schalit is right and the tax reductions were in fact connected with a census) and at the point where he reports the riots in connection with the census of A.D. 6-7. At the very least Josephus could be expected at the beginning of *Antiquities* 18 to express his or Quirinius' surprise at the disturbances caused by the census among the Jews, since they had accepted similar administrative procedures by the unpopular Herod on several occasions.⁵ Schalit's entire structure rests upon too much speculation and cannot be considered successful.

¹ *Loc. cit.* A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 64ff., does not seem to think that under Herod the taxes were too high.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁴ *Ant.* 15.365; 14.64.

⁵ For the view that serious disturbances which led to the founding of the Zealot party took place at the time of Herod's death see Braunert, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

The judgment written by Henry J. Cadbury in 1933 still seems to be valid : "Luke's accuracy about the census in Luke 2.1 does not seem to have been vindicated yet in spite of many attempts".¹

II

The scholarly debate about the infancy narrative in Luke entered a completely new stage with the work of Martin Dibelius, especially his paper before the Heidelberg Academy.² Dibelius is not concerned with the census of Quirinius, but his basic position is important : (1) the most important part of the contents of this *evangelium infantiae* belongs to popular tradition³ and (2) each of the small narrative sections must be considered small independent units and must be interpreted without reference to the others.⁴

Die Analyse von Luk 1:5-2:20 hat als Urbestand der Tradition drei voneinander unabhängige Legenden ergeben : die Geburt des Täufers, die Engelsbotschaft an die Jungfrau Maria, die Verkündigung an die Hirten. Unser historisches Wissen um die Vorgänge wird durch sie nicht bereichert, denn *der einzige weltgeschichtliche Passus, von dem Zensus des Quirinius, gehört nicht in die alte Erzählung ...*⁵

Dibelius is undoubtedly correct in his assessment, but this makes all the more urgent the question why the "world historic note" on Quirinius was ever placed into this legendary context. Vague references to the interaction between world history and *Heilsgeschichte* will not help us.⁶ Instead, we would agree with Ernst Haenchen's interpretation of Dibelius : "Luke is understood by Dibelius no longer, as had been done by the previous generation, as a modern historian, but as an ancient historian ... He [Luke] shows that events do not move by accident, but in a specific direction, and that these events have a

¹ Henry J. Cadbury, "Roman Law and the Trial of Paul", *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, vol. V (London, 1932), 318, n. 4.

² Dibelius, *op. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 70, emphasis added.

⁶ John M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London, 1930), p. 30 : "The birth of Christ roughly coincided with the establishment of an ordered government and administration throughout the world ... If there is a chronological error, there is also dramatic appropriateness in associating the birth of Christ with an imperial decree for the enrolment of 'all the world'."

meaning : they fulfill God's plan of salvation."¹ Any explanation of the inclusion of the reference to the census must address itself to both of these facets of Luke's work : the specific direction of historical events and their relation to God's plan of salvation. The historian may not be a preacher like Luke, but he must be willing to see that Luke was trying to do more than write a chronicle.

A serious attempt to understand Luke's reference to the census of Quirinius and to relate it to both concrete historical data and the totality of Luke's work was undertaken by Horst Braunert in his article published in *Historia* in 1957. Unfortunately, Braunert relies too heavily on Ethelbert Stauffer whose influence becomes evident in a number of apologetic attempts to prove the accuracy of details. Braunert refers specifically and with appreciation to Stauffer when he claims that Luke used good contemporary sources. He judges this assumption to be justified because "nowhere in the ancient authors who deal with the history of Jesus—be they Christians, pagans, Jews—do we find any contradictions against these descriptions by Luke."² Such a remark is useless or—worse—misleading. We have no ancient authors—Christians, pagans, Jews—who deal independently of the gospels "with the history of Jesus".

The important positive contribution of Braunert, however, lies in the fact that he places Luke's account into a wider historical context. He makes a serious attempt to understand why Luke connects Jesus' birth with the census. He argues that after Herod's death disturbances occurred in Palestine which were led by the same men responsible for the riots in A.D. 6-7; the chief instigator of these movements was in both instances a certain Judas. The earlier riots were even more violent than those connected with the census under Quirinius. Luke followed contemporary sources when he connected the birth of Jesus with certain events in Jewish history. The confusion of the two dates (the time after Herod's death and the time of the census under Quirinius) existed already in the source used by Luke, but it was not an "error" or "oversight". Braunert accepts the thesis developed by H.L. MacNeill³ that Luke's language in this passage is not specifically Christian, but rather "patriotically and enthusiastically Jewish" and

¹ Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 10. Aufl., Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen, 1956), p. 34.

² Braunert, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³ H.L. MacNeill, "The *Sitz im Leben* of Luke 1:5-2:20", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 65 (1946), 123ff.

that Jesus in this narrative is "not a Christian, but the Messiah of Israel." The origin of this source is to be looked for in a Jewish-Christian community somewhere in Judaea, outside of Jerusalem. This group combined strongly nationalistic Jewish political views with its Christian faith. It was this "Christian-Zealot group", therefore, which was also responsible for the conscious combination of the two dates.

Then, however, we are not dealing with a chronological error, but with the conscious establishment of a historical picture which tried to trace the origin of the two originally independent groups to a common date—a date which in the national struggle possessed truly historical significance.¹

Braunert's position was given qualified approval by A.R.C. Leaney in his commentary on Luke.² Both Braunert and Leaney point out that Jesus seems to have attracted some elements from the Zealot movement, although all discussion of the early history of the Zealot movement must take into account the important observations by Morton Smith.³ They are only two among many contemporary scholars who have finally realized that neither Jesus nor the earliest Christian community could have remained unaffected by the political tensions which existed in Palestine at the time.

The connection between the census and the disturbances mentioned specifically by Josephus and the birth of Jesus is used by Braunert to stress the Zealot character of the source used by Luke, but this same connection is given the opposite interpretation by Rengstorf and Grundmann.

Rengstorf⁴ has an excursus on the census of Quirinius in which he tries to prove the historicity of a census during the lifetime of Herod the Great. No clear proof is offered, and the witness of Josephus is pushed aside too easily.⁵ But Rengstorf makes an important observation when he says :

¹ Braunert, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

² A.R.C. Leaney, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (New York, 1958), pp. 47f.

³ Lk. 6.15; Acts 1.13; cf. Lk. 2.11; 16.13,22,37; 23.19, etc. Cf. Oscar Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament* (New York, 1956); also *idem*, *Jesus and the Revolutionaries* (New York, 1970); William R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus* (New York, 1956); Morton Smith, "Zealots and Sicarii. Their Origins and Relation", *Harvard Theological Review*, 64 (1971), 1-19.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 39f. : "Josephus darf nicht dagegen angeführt werden, da sich bei genauerer Untersuchung seiner Angaben die Möglichkeit ergibt, dass er eine zweite Schätzung unter Quirinius, erst nach dem Tode des Herodes, im Auge hat".

⁵ *Ibid.*

Joseph, however, honors God's will also in Caesar's command. The imperial decree which ordered the census later led to severe disturbances among the Jews and contributed significantly to the founding of the anti-Roman Zealot movement. By obeying the imperial command as a matter of course, Joseph remained aloof from all of this. This turned out to have very important effects upon the life of Jesus.¹

By reading Joseph's obedience to the imperial decree as a sign of conscious separation from any nationalistic political movement among the contemporary Jews, Rengstorf seems to have correctly understood the apologetic function of the *weltgeschichtliche Passus* about the census within the whole of the gospel. He weakens his case by his unsuccessful attempt to rescue the historical accuracy of Luke in this matter.

We find the same ambiguous position in Grundmann.² His excursus is based almost entirely upon Stauffer's arguments in *Jesus, Gestalt und Geschichte*. It does not represent an independent study of the ancient sources and does not offer any fresh ideas. But in his comments on Lk.2.4 he observes: "Joseph's journey (to Bethlehem) is a decision against the Zealot way. It is an act of obedience." Unfortunately, his unsuccessful attempt to harmonize the whole account with Matthew and thus to place the census into Herod's lifetime causes Grundmann to continue: "... for Herod is after the descendents of David, and Joseph has cause to be afraid of Herod if he is recognized in Bethlehem as David's descendent".³ Surely, Joseph would have been in even greater danger at the strange events occurring at the presentation of Jesus in the Temple a short time later! Grundmann's insight that the journey to Bethlehem is an act of obedience toward Rome is correct. But the Herod motif plays no role in Luke, and any harmonization with Matthew is impossible.

III

This survey, by no means intended to be complete, of recent work on the census in Luke may serve as the starting point for the brief statement of a new thesis. The preceding review should have sufficiently established the position that none of the numerous attempts to prove the historical accuracy of Luke's report on the census of Quirinius has been successful. As a result, any solution of the problem which

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

² Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-79.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79f.

involves the assumption, encountered in the work of Stauffer and those who have accepted his argumentation, that there was a census in Palestine during the lifetime of Herod must lead to wrong results as far as the *Sitz im Leben* of the account of the census is concerned. The historical inaccuracy of the passage which claims to be historical and stands so isolated in the midst of legendary materials demands a concrete and specific reason for its inclusion in the gospel, unless one wishes to take the easy way out and argue with Goulder and Sanderson that the overriding concern of Luke in the infancy narrative is to make use of as many Old Testament allusions as possible and that he is simply not interested in dealing with concrete historical questions.¹

The time at which the reference to the census and its inclusion in the gospel would have been of greatest concern is, of course, the date of the composition of the gospel. A significant number of scholars today accept as the date for the composition of the Third Gospel the period between 70 and 90,² that is after the war of 66-70. It is almost universally agreed, furthermore, that Luke and Acts were meant to be read as one comprehensive work. One of the main themes of this composition is the attempt to show "the political innocence of Jesus in the eyes of the Romans, above all of Pilate ... Luke prepares the defense of the Christians against political accusation in Acts. Also in connection with this political line the relation of Jesus' history with general history appears".³ This apologetic concern of both Luke and Acts would be seriously jeopardized if the books included passages which were meant to establish an intimate relationship between Jesus or the Christian community and the rebel movement of the Zealots. It seems to have been widely accepted that the origins of this rebel movement were somehow connected with the census taken by Quirinius in A.D. 6-7. At exactly this point, then, Luke found the most suitable starting point for the documentation of the thesis that at no time did the Christian movement, even in the person of its founder, constitute a danger to the security of the Roman Empire. For this reason it is so important for Luke that the order for the census

¹ M.D. Goulder and M.L. Sanderson, "St. Luke's Genesis", *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 8 (1957), 12-30.

² W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. A.J. Mattill, Jr. (Nashville and New York, 1966), pp. 105f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99. Cf. Lk. 23.4, 14,20,22; 23.25,47; Acts 16.19-40; 17.6-9, esp. v. 7; 18.12-17; 23.26-30, esp. v. 29; 25.24-27, esp. v. 25; 26.31. See also the modern literature listed by Kümmel.

be issued by the highest authority of the empire himself. This allows him to show the obedience of Joseph who, in contrast to the nationalist fanatics, obeys this order. Joseph's obedience is not merely passive : he subjects himself and Mary to great hardship in order to fulfil his civic duty. Braunert is right when he connects the birth of Jesus with the birth of the Zealot movement.¹ But in contrast to Rengstorf he is wrong when he argues that the reference to the census has the purpose to establish an intimate relationship between Christianity (or even a small group within the new community) and the nationalist rebels. It is difficult to see how Luke should have started his *apologia* with an incident illustrating the very position which he is trying to prove wrong throughout his entire work.

The combination of this census with Old Testament motifs in the rest of the infancy narrative serves to stress the double origin of Jesus and Christianity : Judaism and the Roman Empire. It is conceivable that Luke wanted to say even more : by underlining the obedience of Jesus' family and the Christian community while openly confessing their Jewish origin Luke may have intended to claim that the Christians are the true Jews even in the Roman legal sense. As the true Jews who have never been involved in any rebellion against Rome or other subversive activity the Christians should be accorded the privileges of a *religio licita* still enjoyed by the people so recently involved in one of the most bitterly fought wars of Roman history. This is speculation, but the conscious dissociation of the Christians from the nationalist Jewish movement as illustrated *inter alia* at the point of origin of both movements can be accepted as the real intent of the *weltgeschichtliche Passus* in Luke.

Only on this premise does the total span of Luke-Acts yield its true sense : the seemingly ridiculous connection between the imperial decree and the stable in Bethlehem receives its justification when, at the end of Acts, Paul preaches to a Christian community in the imperial capital itself. And although Paul's imprisonment seems to leave not much hope (and most readers of Luke-Acts, of course, knew about his death), the interconnected chain of loyalty toward Rome which

¹ The fact that the disturbances seem to have been most severe in Galilee which remained under the rule of Herod Antipas after A.D. 6 and thus was not subject to the census is best explained by Bo Reicke, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Berlin, 1964), p. 101 : in Galilee the observance of the Law had greatly increased, and the numerous Jewish immigrants had evidently become great patriots; the political situation under Herod Antipas was freer than in Judaea where the Roman occupation forces served as a damper.

begins at the moment of Jesus' birth, would lead the reader to realize that, in spite of all set-backs, the church's position within the Roman Empire was secure. The Christian community in Luke-Acts continues the way Jesus himself had lived : truly Jewish and, at the same time, truly loyal toward Rome.

Once we recognize this apologetic function of the census in Luke we need no longer worry about the details of chronology. Luke was a forthright and open apologist for Christianity. He has no need of the forced apologetic devices of modern scholars more interested in pseudo-orthodoxy than history.

THE ISRAEL OF GOD

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From gentile to Jew to Christian : was this the course of conviction and affiliation for a gentile convert to "Christianity" in the first century ? This question may be raised with Paul of Tarsus, the Jewish-Christian who deliberately assumed the special role of "Christian" evangelist to gentiles. He distinguished his role and its attendant theological problems from the comparable role of Peter, another Jewish-Christian who particularly addressed his appeal to Jews. The inquiry that we here make of Paul might be formulated thus : From a theological standpoint, was it required of a gentile to become a Jew in the process of becoming a "Christian" ? A variant formulation might take this form : When the Jew, Paul, converted a gentile to "Christianity" did the convert thus become a Jewish proselyte ? What was the mind of Paul on this theological question ? The response is involved in the general milieu of gentile-Jewish-Christian relationships in the first generation of Christian origins. In the attempt to understand Paul's mind on such a question one is led to the related inquiry : Who is a Jew ?

It has been maintained by many that in Paul's missionary enterprise the convert as a gentile might come directly to Christ ; that is, he need never assume a state of allegiance to Judaism. This would mean that in the mind of Paul, within the first Christian generation, there was a third religious entity ; such as came to be called in the second century a "third race". Independent of the cults of gentiles, and separate from Judaism, there would be converts from both who would completely withdraw in order to enter upon the "Christian" Way, separated from both. This view has been attributed by many to Paul, and yet even in our advanced stage of exegetical criticism there is reason to challenge the view and to press for renewed analysis of Paul's own contention, as bearing upon the issue here raised.

They were Jewish missionaries, Paul and Barnabas, who were quite prepared to receive gentiles into their religious community without circumcision, although the dominant Jewish position was insistence upon the rite as traditionally practiced. Obviously the

Jewish leaders considered that Paul's converts were moving from gentile religion to Judaism. That Paul discounted the need for circumcision does not mean that Paul excused the gentile "Christian" from membership within Judaism. Foakes-Jackson did so interpret Paul's charge to the Galatians (5.2) : "... if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you." He attributes to Paul the warning that "if they became Jewish proselytes, they would be more attracted to the fulfilment of the external precepts of the Law ..."¹

But this is not the position that Paul took. He did make his position quite clear and we may well rely upon his own words, in his epistles and as reported by Luke. Whereas Paul did renounce the requirement for a *physical* circumcision for the Gentile convert, he argued vigorously and at length for the retention of that traditional characteristic of Judaism, circumcision, correctly understood. A convert must accept circumcision; that is, the "true" circumcision. He urges : "If a man who is uncircumcised keeps the precepts of the law, will not his uncircumcision be regarded as circumcision?" (Rom 2.26). "He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal" (Rom 2.29). Paul's declaration is applicable both to the born Jew and to the gentile convert whose spiritual circumcision satisfies the law and qualifies him for membership *within Judaism*. In the Colossian letter (2.11), Paul adheres to the "circumcision made without hands ... the circumcision of Christ," a rite performed once-for-all signifying for the gentile convert the true mark of Judaism as found in the Law of Moses.

What greater or clearer qualification for the gentile convert to be acceptable within Judaism could there be, than to be recognized as in the line of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? So Paul argues that the man of faith is a spiritual descendant of Abraham, who was "the father of all who believe without being circumcised," as well as "the father of the circumcised who ... follow the example of the faith which our father Abraham had" (Rom 4.11f.). "He is the father of us all" (Rom 4.16). This was later reflected in the Epistle of Barnabas (13.7), where God speaks : "I have made thee, Abraham, the father of the gentiles who believe in God in uncircumcision." By this reasoning, Paul brought his gentile converts within Judaism as "the household of faith" (Gal 6.10), for "in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham

¹ F.J. Foakes-Jackson, *The Life of St. Paul* (New York, 1926), p. 245.

might come upon the gentiles" (Gal 3.14). "If you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise" (Gal 3.29).

Furthermore, the gentile convert is also a descendant of Isaac, child of the "free woman" rather than of Hagar the slave. Through "our forefather Isaac ... God's purpose of election might continue" (Rom 9.11). A "Christian's" lineage, whether a Jew or a gentile, was traceable also through Jacob. Paul applied God's discrimination (Mal. 1.2-3) to the first-century "Christian," Jew or gentile: "I have loved Jacob but I have hated Esau" (Rom 9.13). The convert Luke declares that Mary's son "will reign over the house of Jacob" (Luke 1.33). The triple ascription to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was a definite earmark of the Jews' religion. Yahweh had declared even to Moses (Ex. 3.6): "I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob" (quoted by Luke in Acts 7.32). The same expression is attributed to Peter, when speaking of God's glorification of Jesus (Acts 3.13). Paul's colleague Luke envisions Abraham and Isaac and Jacob "in the kingdom of God" (Luke 13.28f.; cf. Matt. 8.11) where they will sit at table with "Christians." To demonstrate belief in the resurrection, Luke declares that the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob is "the God of the living" (Luke 20.37f.; cf. Matt. 22.32). Paul's recourse to each of the patriarchs in the "Christian's" lineage is summed up and often repeated by Luke, as well as by Matthew, in this characteristic triple formula of Judaism. This lineage of the "Christian", be he Jew or gentile, continues to be the earmark of the family of Judaism.

Another indication that Paul's gentile convert was received into Judaism is the administration of baptism, a Jewish rite. It is recognized that several interpretations of the baptismal rite were applied to different religious occasions in Judaism. In my judgment, both proselyte baptism for gentiles and messianic baptism for both Jews and gentiles offer the most appropriate explanations, but among the alternative interpretations all are Jewish. Daube points out that "leading Hillelites ... did consider a male convert fully Jewish as soon as he was baptized."¹ The initial summons to baptism by John the Baptizer was certainly in the Jewish context, whatever explanation of it one may accept. Accordingly, Paul later alludes to the rite as common among "all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus" (Rom 6.3), the anointed Messiah of Judaism's expectation. "For

¹ David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), p. 109.

by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body — Jews or Greeks” (I Cor 12.13). We are not surprised that Paul sees a deeper theological sense in the rite : “We were baptized into his death, we were interred therefore with him ... as the Messiah was resurrected ... we too might walk in newness of life” (Rom 6.3f.). Indeed, Paul represents the spiritual *ἀνάστασις* as having already been experienced : “You were buried with him in baptism, you were also raised with him through faith, in the *ἐνέργεια* of God” (Col 2.12), a once-for-all *ἀνάστασις*. Underlying Paul’s heightened interpretation lies the traditional baptismal rite of Judaism, applied to the gentile “Christian” (cf. Acts 19.5).

A further religious requirement characteristic of Judaism was applied to the gentile “Christian;” namely, dietary observance. Whereas a gentile convert was excused from much of the detailed requirement of Torah, the old “Noachian” laws must be observed : “You shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood” (Gen. 9.4; cf Deut. 12.16). This was the exceptional demand customarily imposed upon the gentile convert to Judaism, and it was retained within the early “Christian” cult. “It has seemed good ... to lay upon you ... these necessary things : that you abstain ... from blood and from what is strangled” (Acts 15.28f.; 21.25). Paul and the leaders in Jerusalem found agreement in this long practiced approach of Judaism. It included the further prohibition of flesh which had been sacrificed on a gentile altar, as a specific violation of the blood-life proscription (I Cor 10.28f.). In this traditional respect the gentile “Christian” was called upon to observe the minimum of dietary requirement within Judaism. As to minor details, Jewish and gentile “Christians” ate together in the Antioch community, where Peter initially assumed the liberal posture of living “like a gentile and not like a Jew” (Gal. 2.14).

Central to the Jewish religion, in Paul’s thought, was the concept of “justification” or approval by God, and this he proclaimed to both Jew and Gentile. For the Jew, Paul found the true example in Abraham (long before the Mosaic formulation) who believed God’s promise “and it was reckoned to him as righteousness” (Rom 4.3). Therefore, Paul insists, God’s approval of the Jew depends upon belief, trust or faith in God; rather than upon works, or the performance of the manifold precepts of Torah. Paul reminds the Roman “Christians” that “David pronounces [Psa. 32.1-2] a blessing upon the man to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works” (Rom. 4.6).

This very same conception Paul applied to any gentile convert : "Is this blessing pronounced only upon the circumcised, or also upon the uncircumcised?" (4.9). The example of Abraham supplies the answer that the gentile is included in the blessing. "God is one; and he will justify the circumcised on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised because of their faith" (Rom. 3.30). Paul's gentile convert as a "Christian" thus entered Judaism on the same terms as his Jewish convert enjoyed who was already in Judaism and remained so. "Are we Jews any better off? No, ... both Jews and Greeks are under the power of sin ... and no human being will be justified ... by works of the law ... But now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from law ... through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe" (Rom. 3.9, 20-22). "It is evident that no man is justified before God by the law" (Gal. 3.11). "Israel who pursued the righteousness which is based on law did not succeed in fulfilling that law ... because they did not pursue it through faith" (Rom 9:31f.). "Gentiles who did not pursue righteousness have attained it ... through faith" (Rom. 9.30). "The promise may ... be guaranteed to all [Abraham's] descendants — not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham" (Rom. 4.16). "The promise to Abraham and his descendants," both Jew and gentile, "did not come through the law but through the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4.13). The evidence is abundant that, in Paul's interpretation, the religious experience of a new convert from the gentile community coincided with that of a new convert who was already Jewish, both on an equal footing within Judaism.

Additional evidence of the Jewishness of Paul's gentile converts is noted in their consistent association with the synagogue. Some gentile converts had already become Jewish when Paul proclaimed his gospel of freedom in the synagogues, and therefore must have already satisfied the requirements imposed by the Jewish community. In the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch, Paul addressed both the "sons of the family of Abraham, and those among you that fear God" (Acts 13.26). "And when the meeting of the synagogue broke up, many Jews and devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas" (Acts 13.43). In Corinth, Paul "argued in the synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded Jews and Greeks" (Acts 18.4). It would be easy to cite a score of passages to confirm that throughout Paul's "Christian" career he retained his connection with the synagogue. This is not contrary to his sense of special responsibility for the con-

version of gentiles. His long experience in Corinth is reported neither as a break with the synagogue nor with Judaism. When Paul removed "to the house of a man named Titius Justus, a worshiper of God ... next door to the synagogue," no less a Jewish personage than the ruler of the synagogue along with the family were his converts and supporters (Acts 18.7f.). Shortly thereafter, in Ephesus, we find Paul again speaking in the synagogue (Acts 18.19; 19.8). Once again, circumstances impelled him to withdraw to "the hall of Tyrannus ... for two years" (Acts 19.9f.). But this episode does not imply any break with Judaism on Paul's part, for we soon find him "hastening to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost" (Acts 20.16). After arrival, "he purified himself ... and went into the temple" (Acts 21.26) still conducting himself very much the sincere and devout Jew. In his missionary activity he is not seeking to build a separate and new cult apart from Judaism. His converts to "Christianity," including gentiles, stand within the "true" Judaism.

Some scholars have held that a clear split occurred in Corinth, when Paul announced: "From now on I will go to the gentiles." Subsequently, so they may maintain, a chiefly gentile ἐκκλησία stands opposed to the Jewish synagogue. But Paul's conduct until the end makes clear that he considered his own movement and all its members, both Jewish and gentile, as part of his life-long Jewish religion. The ἐκκλησία was a "Christian" assembly within Judaism governed by its traditional elders (Acts 14.23). Paul often called it the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ¹ — a term which may have distinguished it from orthodox synagogues although it does not imply an extra-Jewish institution. The Thessalonian letters are addressed to "the ἐκκλησία in God the Father," clearly referring to the God of Judaism. The observance of the Jewish sabbath continued among the "Christian" believers, for Jew and gentile alike, and Paul's own visits in the synagogues are reported often as taking place on the sabbath.²

Many other characteristics of Judaism persist in the mind and the practice of Paul, the Jewish missionary. As a self-professed Pharisee, he found authority in the Sacred Scriptures and adhered to a monotheistic belief. He still worshipped in the Temple, observed its purificatory rites and offered sacrifice, observed the religious festivals and contributed alms. His declaration to the Corinthians is not sur-

¹ I Cor. 1.2; 10.32; 11.16, 22; 15.9; II Cor. 1.1; Gal. 1.13; I Thess. 2.14; II Thess. 1.4.

² Acts 13.14, 27, 44; 15.21; 18.4.

prising : "God's temple is holy" (I Cor. 3.17). He reminds them of the priestly participation in the sacrifices : "Those who are employed in the temple service get their food from the temple, and those who serve at the altar share in the sacrificial offerings" (I Cor. 9.13; cf. 10.18). Near the end of his career, as Luke reports, Paul defends his Jewishness : "I went up to worship at Jerusalem" (Acts 24.11). "They found me purified in the temple" (Acts 24.18; cf. 21.26). The temple was for him a worthy concept to apply to the believer's personal purity, especially in Corinth : "You are God's temple and ... God's Spirit dwells in you" (I Cor. 3.16; cf. 6.19 and II Cor 6.16). In Paul's *apologia* before Felix, he recounted : "After some years I came to bring to my nation alms and offerings" (Acts 24.17). However this may be interpreted, at least it was an attitude faithful to Judaism, as was also his "priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Rom. 15.16). So also in the Jewish concept of animal sacrifice Paul saw a worthy imagery for the crucifixion of Jesus : "Christ our paschal lamb has been sacrificed" (I Cor. 5.7). In later years, "Christians" retained this imagery after the destruction of the temple and the renunciation of sacrifice. Still another simile Paul drew from Jewish ritual : "Cleanse out the old leaven, that you may be fresh dough, as you really are unleavened" (I Cor. 5.7). Other rituals he touches upon out of long habit, when writing to the Colossians : "Let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath" (2.16). Indeed, the entire "law is holy" (Rom. 7.12), deserving of the correct interpretation and a reverent attitude.

Although Paul thought of himself especially as a missionary *for* gentiles, he was certainly a missionary *within* Judaism. He was not an alienated Jew, as some would describe him; though his was a modified Judaism : "According to the Way, which they call a sect, I worship the God of our fathers ... neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple ... have I offended at all" (Acts 24.14 and 25.8). Although his religious posture has been subject to debate among Jews, anciently and lately, Paul yielded to no one in his deliberate fidelity to the best he knew in Judaism. He was not drawing men out of Judaism or Hellenism so as to form a new religion. His Jewish converts remained within Judaism and his gentile converts were drawn into Judaism, the "true" Judaism. To the last he insisted :

"I myself am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham," and his converts were considered to be among God's people (Rom. 11.1).

The first question we have considered has been : In the thought of Paul, must a gentile become a Jew in order to become a Christian? It has seemed to us that Paul in his own words has given this answer : When a gentile was converted to the "Christian" belief, he thereby in that same change became a Jew, a "true" Jew. But this understanding proposes a new and a different question for Paul : Who is a Jew, and who is not a Jew? Once again, we may appeal to Paul's own words for his answer. "Not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel, and not all are children of Abraham because they are his descendants" (Rom. 9.6f.). "It is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise;" that is, the descendants of Abraham through Isaac (Rom. 9.8). "He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal" (Rom. 2.29). This does not exclude the traditional rite of circumcision for Jews, but does make essential for Jews "the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4.13). Paul often applied here Habakkuk 2.4 : "He who through faith is righteous shall live" (Rom. 1.17; Gal. 3.11; cf. Rom. 3.21f.; Phil. 3.9). Paul becomes quite explicit in identifying God's people : "A man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ" (Gal. 2.16). The same affirmations which open the door for the gentile convert, also disqualify many a Jew who rests his fate upon "works of law." Alluding to the freedom from physical circumcision, symbolic of the law, Paul gives his benediction upon the "true" Jews : "Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God" (Gal. 6.16).¹

In modern times the identity of the Jew has been a political and sociological problem, and a variety of identifications have been proposed. Jean-Paul Sartre is quoted as saying that "a Jew is a man whom other men call a Jew." Some would hold that whoever calls himself a Jew is one, even as Paul more than once claimed for himself² whereas some disputed his right to such a status. Various criteria have been proposed : descent from Jewish forebears, Jewish parents

¹ The sect of the Essenes of Qumram considered themselves to be "the true Israel", as noted by Dupont-Sommer in *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. G. Vermez (Oxford, 1962), p. 42.

² Acts 21.39; 22.3; 24.14; 25.8; Rom. 11.1; Gal. 2.15; cf. Rom. 2.17.

(especially the mother), observance of Torah, practice of rites, dietary requirements, participation in synagogue worship, national citizenship in Israel, or even (as attributed to Ben Gurion in our time) belief in Psalm 15. First-century Judaism did not maintain a membership roll. Within Judaism there was a great variety of distinctive attitudes, as is shown by the numerous sects (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, Ebionites, Therapeutai, Hellenists, Christians, etc.) and by the varied personalities (Philo, John the Baptist, Jesus, Paul, Steven, Shammai, Hillel, Josephus, etc.). It was against such a background that Paul of Tarsus proclaimed his key to the identity of the Jew in his time : "He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal" (Rom. 2.29). "We ourselves, who are Jews by birth ... even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ" (Gal. 2.15f.).

The same definition of a Jew which Paul applied to those born in Judaism, he applied also to the gentile convert. The pertinent and relevant question was not : Must a gentile become a Jew in order to be a Christian? It was Paul's basic assumption that his gentile converts entered his own Judaism. His question, rather, was : Who is a Jew? Paul applied the same identification to both Jew and gentile : "He is a Jew who is one inwardly" who follows "the example of the faith which our father Abraham had." "Gentiles have attained righteousness through faith;" Paul's God has reckoned them as righteous, justified by God along with Jewish converts to the "Christian" faith. "By one Spirit we were all baptized into one body — Jews or Greeks ... — and all were made to drink of one Spirit" (I Cor. 12.13). During Paul's lifetime, all differences between "Christian" and Jew were issues to be resolved *within* Judaism. Within Judaism Paul's Jewish and gentiles converts to faith in Jesus as the Messiah, reckoned by God's grace to be righteous through their faith rather than their works, all became (in Paul's interpretation) the true circumcision, "the Israel of God."

REDACTIONS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE MOTHER OF JESUS

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Any book accepted as canon reflects a struggle for identity, speaking to a felt need in a believing community. Crises produce scriptures,¹ and scriptures are intended to resolve crises. The development of any biblical book must be seen in the light of the life of the community that adopted it. Each redaction, editorial alteration, or textual change can show a changing perspective or echo a controversy in the ongoing life of the early church. Thus, no variant—except possibly some careless scribal errors—is unimportant, and careful exegesis is part of the study of church history.

I. THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE CANON

In Christian history few books have played a more prominent role than the Gospel attributed to John.² In the fourth century, when an official Christianity seemed to demand an official canon, text, and liturgy, pericopae from the Fourth Gospel provided the first lectionary.³

¹ The crisis of Ba'alism produced Deuteronomy, the "first Bible"; the need to define a community in the restored state produced the Torah; tribulations associated with Antiochus Epiphanes probably gave birth to the canon of the Law and the Prophets. By the time Christianity was an identifiable movement, the use of scripture was well established, and the tripartite Hebrew scripture and the two part Christian Bible may have attained their completed shape at about the same time.

² Throughout this essay, the name "John", unless otherwise qualified, represents the final redactor of the Fourth Gospel. Without digressing on the literary problems of the Gospel of John, let me say that in general I accept the central conclusions of Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John : A Commentary*, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray, *et al.* (Philadelphia, 1971), particularly as modified by Robert Tomson Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs : A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1970). See also the extensive review of this book by James M. Robinson in the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 39 (1971), 339-48.

³ See Harry M. Buck, Jr., *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, II-4, ed. Allen P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1958), pp. 76f.

Early Christianity can be seen as a tree with three roots. There is, of course, Jesus himself as remembered in cultic tradition. The Jewish environment of the earliest church provides the second root, but as the church moved into the Greco-Roman world, Christians found they had to meet the challenges of what they called the pagan world, and in so doing gentile spirituality so altered the nature of the growth as to become a third root. On the other hand, many Christians felt the necessity of maintaining a clear identity, distinct from Jews and gentiles.

In its first century and a half, Christianity was not a literary faith; it was a way of life, a power passed from life to life, not a doctrine nor a book. Yet, words attributed to Jesus carried weight, and the formula "remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said ..." may have connoted an authority similar to the use of the perfect passive *γέγραπται*,¹ as used to denote canonical writings. Probably the first use of *γέγραπται* with reference to any text of the New Testament comes in the Epistle of Barnabas 4.14, where there is almost an exact quotation of either Mt. 20.16 (*var. lec.*) or 22.14: "... as it was written [*γέγραπται*] we may be found 'many called but few chosen'" (Loeb trans.). Barnabas, however, is not likely identifying the Gospel of Matthew but pointing to the words of Jesus. Even in the works of Ignatius of Antioch, whose Christocentrism focused in a structured ecclesiastical institution, the Gospel was not equated with a book. Even as late as the time of Justin Martyr (ca. A.D. 150) there is little evidence of a "New Testament". For Justin, Jesus himself is the fulfillment of scriptures, i.e., the Septuagint.

With Irenaeus (ca. A.D. 178) the picture changed. Writing with the full dignity of the episcopal office behind him, Irenaeus attacked the Gnostics and the heretic Marcion with equal vigor. As a prophylactic against Gnosticism, he urged a canonical scripture, a rule of faith (i.e., a creed), and the interpretation of both by bishops. Against Marcion, who would have replaced the Torah with a portion of Luke, Irenaeus set the four-fold Gospel:

It is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer than they are, for since there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four universal (catholic) winds, while the church is scattered throughout all the

¹ Literally, "it has been written". This particular form carries the force of "the Bible says". Harnack believed that some of the oral tradition of Jesus may have been introduced by *γέγραπται*. See John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (Chicago, 1942).

earth and the pillar and foundation of the church is the Gospel and the breath of life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side and rekindling the life of man. (*Adv. haer.* 3.11.8)

Irenaeus also sensed the intense Christ-centeredness of the Gospel of John and used it effectively to repudiate the Gnostics.

By the end of the second century the shape of the canon had emerged clearly, and the choice of these particular documents and the rejection and disuse of others was dictated in part by historical accident (e.g., the attempt to include all apostolic letters) but more decisively by theological controversies of the second century. That is to say, the Christian Bible is a tool specifically prepared to deal with second century theological issues. In this century the Gospel of John came to exercise widespread influence. In those days, few, if any, had seen the Lord face to face, and the pericope in which Thomas insists on seeing for himself ends with the reassurance, "Happy are they who never saw me and yet have found faith" (20.29, New English Bible).

The high esteem in which the Fourth Gospel was held can be seen in a legend recounted in the Muratorian Fragment :

The fourth of the Gospels [was written by] John, one of the disciples. When exhorted by his fellow disciples and bishops, he said, "Fast with me for three days, and what may be revealed to any of us let us relate it to one another". The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John was to write all things in his own name, and they were all to certify.

Small wonder—with such backing—that the Gospel of John could be used to correct heresy of many sorts, anything that detracted from the central redeeming work of Christ. Two centuries earlier this Gospel had already proved effective in combatting the Gnostics, the followers of John the Baptist, and the Jews. John's extreme christology—*Christus solus*—allowed for no other centers of interest, let alone rival sects. In his zeal, John was suspicious even of the figure of the Mother of Christ, who later developed into the Mother of God.

II. THE CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The Gospel of John contains one central theme, played over and over with many variations : "the Person of Jesus. The entire Gospel is concerned with the fact that his presence, the nature of his claim, when he comes and whither he goes, and how men relate themselves to him ...".¹ With the emergence of the *formgeschichtliche Methode*

¹ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, p. 5, from the "Introduction" by Walter Schmithals.

and, more recently, *Redaktionskritik* we have tools with which to understand the significance of alternations and additions to the Gospel.¹ In its present form—well into the first half of the second century—John supports his high Christology by a carefully planned attack on the Gnostics, the Jews (which may be understood as referring to all those who, having had the opportunity, fail to repond to Jesus), the followers of John the Baptist, and—covertly at least—the growing veneration of the holy Mother. He introduces deliberate double meanings into artificial conversations, filled with allusions and symbolisms. He has worked so hard at his task that virtually nothing in his book should be taken at face value.

Bultmann proposed a source analysis for this Gospel, identifying at least the Synoptic Gospels, a discourse source and a signs source (*sēmeion-Quelle*). Fortna, in a recently published book, has attempted to isolate and reconstruct the signs source. He posits an underlying document built around the seven signs (*σημεῖα*—not miracles, because a display of power was intended in none of them), including a continuing story beginning in John 1.6 and continuing through the story of the Passion, which in John is transformed into a scene of glorification (cf. Jn. 12.32). Fortna sees two stages in the development of the Gospel—the *Grundschrift* and the *Redaktion*—and points out trenchantly that whichever of the two stages is regarded as “Johannine” will result in two quite different reconstructions. Robinson in studying the *aporias* (“disjunctions”) concludes that the Gospel did not acquire major later accretions but small “Johannine” insertions which give it is peculiar character, useful for John’s purpose.²

The Christocentric signs source served well the militant Christology of the final redactor, beginning with the very appearance of Jesus himself and ending with the greatest sign : his death and exaltation, adding as an epilogue,

Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book ; but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God. (Jn. 20.30)

¹ This point is effectively argued by Harold H. Oliver, “Implications of *Redaktionsgeschichte* for the textual criticism of the New Testament”, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 36 (1958), 41-45, where he cites the possibility expressed by Riddle, Grant, and Parvis that some of the variants in the Gospels may represent material that had circulated earlier in oral form and been added to the Gospel text by later scribes.

² See page 170, note 2.

In between his appearance and his death, Jesus performs seven other signs, two of which—water changed to wine (2.1-11) and the raising of Lazarus (11.1-45)—have no parallel in the Synoptics.

No sinners accompany Jesus in this Gospel, nor is Jesus the friend of sinners. Pity, compassion, mercy, humility—these themes are conspicuously absent here. John, with the zeal of the Deuteronomists in the Old Testament, pursues but one theme : the one great sin is failure to pay proper respect to Jesus.

Over three decades ago, E.C. Colwell pointed out the "corrective" nature of this Gospel : Jesus is not a magician, a Baptist, a Jew, a man, a criminal ; Christianity is neither a superstition nor a revolutionary movement.¹ In his opening paragraph, John manages to single out Gnostics, Baptists, and Jews. Not to these, but to those who received him who believed in his name, he gave power (*ἐξουσίαν*) to become children of God. Also, no birth story obscured his meaning : Jesus came not from the race of men but from God, the eternal *Logos*.

He begins his attack on the Jews in 1.17—"the law was given through Moses ; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ"—and no Jew could miss the meaning that revelation is not in scripture but in the Word-made-Flesh.² To those Jews who believed he said, "If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples" (8.31), but an argument ensued immediately and he ends up by calling them sons of the devil (8.44). Likewise, there is an immediate and explicit polemic against the Baptist. What started out as John's testimony to Jesus becomes quickly an attack on John.

III. THE MOTHER OF JESUS

Whereas one might consider the relationship between Jesus and his mother as strained in the Synoptics (cf. Mk. 3.31-35 and parallels), John deliberately introduces the Mother in order to exclude her from Jesus' work. Just as he can make no room for the Jews, the Baptist, and the Gnostics, he can find no place for the Mother in his scheme. It is important to note that John is not anti-feminist. He represents women as having a firmer understanding of Jesus than his disciples had. He befriends the Samaritan adulteress. Mary and Martha, sisters of Lazarus, are clearly special companions, and he weeps with them

¹ E.C. Colwell, *John Defends the Gospel* (New York, 1936).

² Cf. C.H. Dodd, "The Background of the Fourth Gospel", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 19 (1935), 329ff.

at the death of Lazarus. Mary Magdalene first perceives the resurrection, and it is she who tells Peter about it.

But the mother of Jesus—nameless and faceless—receives entirely different treatment. Although John uses the name “Mary” fifteen times,¹ he never names the Mother of Jesus. She appears (1) in the pericope about turning water into wine (2.1-11), (2) in 2.12, where it is mentioned that Jesus went to Capernaum with his mother, his brothers, and his disciples, (3) in an incidental reference in which “the Jews” murmur disapprovingly, “we know his father and mother” (6.42), and (4) at the cross where in chapter 19, she is mentioned four times. In the two places the mother of Jesus appears prominently—at Cana and at the cross—she is denied a part in the Christ’s work. In neither case is reference made to her in the *Grundschrift*. She has been deliberately introduced to serve the ends of the later redaction.²

1. The Scene at the Cross (19.25-27). This pericope begins with 19.17 where Jesus is being led away, carrying his own cross—to offset the weakness in Mark’s account. This story appears in the signs source substantially as in the received text, but the additions found in the received text are instructive :

- 19.20 Many of the Jews read this title, for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city.
- 19.21f. The Chief priest of the Jews then said to Pilate, “Do not write, ‘the King of the Jews’, but ‘this man said, I am the King of the Jews’”. Pilate answered, “What I have written I have written”.
- 19.23 When (they) had crucified Jesus,
- 19.25ff. ... But standing by the cross of Jesus were his mother, and his mother’s sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved standing near, he said to his mother, “Woman, behold your son !” And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home.

As he was able to do in the first chapter of the Gospel, John has attacked

¹ Jn. 11.1,2,19,20,28,31,32,45; 12.3 refer to the sister of Martha and Lazarus; 19.25 (twice) refers to the wife of Clopas; 20.1,11,16,18 refer to Mary Magdalene.

² Jn. 6.42 is not related to the signs source. 2.12, which follows immediately upon the Cana incident reads in the signs source, as reconstructed by Fortna, “After this he went down to Capernaum with his disciples” (p. 237,) and the final text reads, “After this he went to Capernaum with his mother and his brothers and his disciples”. Careful attention to the two major scenes, in which the mother of Jesus appears in John will suggest both the extent of her veneration and the intensity with which John thought he had to resist it.

all of his distractors at once.¹ As at Cana, the mother is addressed by *γύνα* ("woman").² Jesus' all-knowing character is stressed by two other additions: 19.28, "knowing that all things were now finished", and 19.30, "When Jesus had received the vinegar, he said, 'It is finished' ". With full insight Jesus recognizes that his hour has now come, and he dies not in despair as in Mark but as the reigning Lord. First, however, he had made certain that his mother will have no part in his central act of redemption.

In giving her a new son, John would exclude the Mother from participating in the work of the Christ. The act of redemption must be that of Jesus alone; there is no place for another. In a sense John says that Jesus is no longer his mother's son; he is wholly the son of the Father. So, lest there be misunderstanding, the Mother is denied and sent to her new home.³

2. The Wedding at Cana (2.1-11). This is the "first of his signs which Jesus did at Cana in Galilee and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him" (2.11).⁴ Perhaps this pericope is directed against the followers of John, who drank no wine and was an ascetic. Jesus provides wine in extravagant abundance and approves of marriage. In Jesus' reply to his mother, John may be contrasting him—come from heaven—with John—born of woman.⁵ But the references to the Mother are sharply pointed. Jesus rebukes his mother with the

¹ We need not concern ourselves about the historicity of the passage. Mk. 3.31-35 and parallels suggest that during his lifetime Mary was not one of Jesus' followers even though Acts 1.14 makes her part of the first community. See Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, p. 672.

² But note that Jesus also uses this term in addressing Mary Magdalene on two occasions (Jn. 20.13,15), and once in addressing the Samaritan woman (Jn. 4.21).

³ Bultmann claims that this scene has a symbolic meaning. "The mother of Jesus, who tarries by the cross, represents Jewish Christianity that overcomes the offence of the cross. The beloved disciple represents Gentile Christianity, which is charged to honour the former as its mother from whom it has come, even as Jewish Christianity is charged to recognize itself as 'at home' within Gentile Christianity, i.e. included in the membership of one great fellowship of the Church. And these directions sound out from the cross; i.e. they are the commands of the 'exalted' Jesus". (*Gospel of John*, p. 673). But Bultmann obscures the central point that Jesus is fully in control of the situation. "No man takes [my life] from me" (10.18) he maintains, and although to combat the Gnostics, Jesus says "I thirst", he feels no physical pain in John's account.

⁴ His mother is not mentioned as a believer.

⁵ So A. Geyser, "The Semion at Cana of the Galilee", *Studies in John* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 12-21.

same words with which demons had addressed him (Mk. 1.24). Nor is it enough to equate the Mother with Israel.¹ John has deliberately added important phrases to his *Grundschrift* :

- 2.1 On the third day
- 2.3f. to him, "they have no wine". And Jesus said to her, "Oh woman (γύναι) what have you to do with me (τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί)?"
- 2.6 according to the purification rites of the Jews
- 2.9 and did not know where it came from though the servants who had drawn the water knew
- 2.11 at Cana in Galilee and manifested his glory.

The most interesting in 2.3f., with no logical connection between it and what follows. Here John insists that Jesus' redemptive act will come on God's schedule, no one else's (cf. chap. 17, "Father, the hour has come ..."). To his mother, he said, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*;

This phrase has always presented translation difficulties,² not only because of its apparent brusqueness, but because it is idiomatic Greek, possibly translating a Hebrew-Aramaic idiom, *mah-lî wālāk*, best rendered as something like "Don't bother me". Both in Hebrew and in Greek the phrase is literally "What to me and to you?" In the Synoptics, it occurs in connection with two exorcisms (Mk. 1.24, cf. Lk. 4.34 and Mk. 5.7 and parallels in Mt. 8.29 and Lk. 8.28), where the demons plead to be let alone. Thus, the same phrase inaugurates Jesus' work both in John and in Mark; in Mark it is spoken to Jesus by a demon; in John it is spoken to his mother by Jesus. In both cases, Jesus is set apart for the work he had to do. Jesus is a threat to demons in Mark; his mother threatens Jesus in John. In Mark he begins his work by an exorcism; in John, by establishing his own authority. As at the end of his life when, in John, soldiers come to arrest him but his word causes them to fall back, no one can force him, neither the soldiers nor the demons nor his mother.

The Septuagint also uses the phrase with the meaning, "Let me/us alone" (Judg. 11.12; I Kgs. 17.18; II Kgs. 3.13; II Chron. 35.21; cf. I Esdras 1.24 [Eng. 1.26]; II Sam. 16.10; 19.23 [Eng. 19.22]). But the usage of the same phrase in Epictetus is even more enlightening :

- 1.1.16 : where the contention is that we must not worry about what we cannot control, e.g., the weather

¹ As K. Hanhart has done, "The Structure of John I 35-IV 54", *Studies in John* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 22-46.

² See Harry M. Buck, "On the Translation of John 2:4", *The Bible Translator*, 7 (1956), 149-50.

- 1.22.15 : What have I to do with God if he fails to protect me?
 1.27.13 : The inevitability of death, in connection with which it is asked,
 What do I have to do with the gods if they cannot care for me?
 2.19.16 : where a man jokes instead of helping a shipwrecked passenger,
 and he is cursed with the words, What have we to do with you,
 sir?
 2.19.17ff. : where a man in trouble fails to find sympathy and breaks with
 his companion.
 3.22.26 : where a young man wants to make friends with a Cynic, but without
 submitting to the necessary discipline.

In all these passages the two parties in the encounter, at least as far as that particular situation is concerned, have nothing in common.¹ The phrase always sets up a distance between the two parties involved, and so in Jn. 2. In addition to his polemic against the Baptists, the Gnostics, and the Jews, John fears that Mary may ascend to the position of the Magna Mater.

3. The Holy Mother. In time the progress of Christianity was both aided and impeded by the various cults of the divine Mother in Asia Minor and in Rome. Goddess worship expresses a nearly universal archetype, and it is difficult to separate the veneration of the mother in early Christianity from goddess worship throughout the Empire.²

It has been argued that when Christianity sought to fill the psychological need of the divine Mother, it gave that role to the Church. E.O. James maintains that "as Christ was regarded as the Spouse of those who were filled with the Spirit ... the Church was called Mater Ecclesia".³ Such nuptial imagery was stressed by Irenaeus and Tertullian, and the church—both virgin and mother—was called the second Eve. James concludes that "the female principle, originally personified in the Magna Mater, became the Mater Ecclesia: at once the Bride and Body of Christ, the Mother of the faithful ...".⁴ But it is hard to believe that there was no confusion between Mother Church and Mother Mary, even though the title *Theotokos* may have first of all been conferred on the church, and applied to Mary, only at the Council of Ephesus

¹ My understanding of these passages from Epictetus was greatly increased by correspondence with the late Prof. R.T. Stamm.

² See Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York, 1956), who points out that, significantly enough, on the very spot where the last taurobolium took place at the end of the fourth century now stands the Basilica of the Vatican (p. 71).

³ E.O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Gods* (New York, 1959), p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

(A.D.431).¹ "The Lord has made her name great", declares the Prot-evangelium of James (12.1), and "as early as Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians (7.2), *ek Marias*, 'of Mary', stands side by side with *ek Theou*, 'of God', and, in the same letter the virginity and the accouchement of Mary, together with the death of Jesus, are celebrated as 'the three mysteries that have come into existence and speak clearly out of the silence of God'".² It could hardly be otherwise than that the Mother of Jesus should become Queen and then Mother of God. In the Near East and also in Syria, it is the mother goddess who has the dominant position among the gods in heaven.

It is tempting to extrapolate a Mary cult at the time of John. Certainly she is already honored and revered in the Synoptics; in Lk.1.43, for example, she is addressed as "the Mother of my Lord". The birth stories exalt her, and the apocryphal gospels clearly see her as a Mediterranean mother goddess; she is both *parthenos* ("virgin") and *doulē kuriou* ("handmaiden of the Lord"). However, there is no clear evidence of the cult of Mary in the mid-second century. Nonetheless, John did have basis to fear such a movement.

In language which may be somewhat exaggerated, Preisker said :

Over against the glorification of Mary, which was moving in this direction Jesus [in John] sets limits for his mother. When and how he acts is to be determined for him only and solely by his unique relationship to his Father in heaven (5:19 and other passages). Mother Mary has absolutely nothing to say in this sphere. Jesus can say the same thing of her that he says about his brothers, "Your time is always at your disposal". When it comes to manifesting his glory by means of a miracle, he does not wait for a hint from his mother, but listens for instructions from his Father in heaven; only then is his "hour" here . . . He excludes even Mary from the area which belongs only to the Father and to him. Thereby every form of the Mary-cult is rejected. And by the same token Mary is excluded from any dominating or co-equal position such as was held by the goddesses of Asia Minor and Egypt . . .³

Thus, the wedding scene at the beginning of the Gospel and the scene at the cross at its end are central to John's purpose—although not to that of the *Grundschrift* : the Mother of Jesus does not stand by his side; she does not share in his work of redemption. From the

¹ Although the Didache, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Polycarp and Tatian make no references to Mary, Ignatius, Aristides, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus have occasional references, Justin and Irenaeus relating her to Eve (James, *op cit.*, p. 204).

² Herbert Preisker, "Joh. 2.4 und 19.26", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 42 (1949), 211. The above translation is that of R.T. Stamm.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

cross she is given her proper place, in the *agape* of the Church. *Redaktionskritik* can be a useful tool in reconstructing early church history. Characteristics of the final redaction of John show the intensity of the Christological struggles of the mid-second century.

UNSOLVED QUESTIONS ABOUT EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN ANATOLIA*

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The land mass that we call Asia Minor or Anatolia was of great significance for Christianity in the formative period A.D. 50-150, and of course later, although the present essay will be confined to the history of that period. The Book of Acts says that St. Paul came from Tarsus (9.11; 11.25; 21.39; 22.3),¹ and certainly he made important journeys in Asia Minor and founded churches there. The Apostle John is reputed to have spent his last days in Ephesus, and certainly one or more venerable Christians of that name lived there. St. Ignatius of Antioch travelled through western Asia Minor on his way to Rome, and our knowledge of his life and thought is confined to letters written by him at this time. The Book of Revelation was certainly written in the neighborhood of Ephesus. Hierapolis, a city of the Anatolian interior with easy access to the coast, was the home of Philip and three of his daughters, and of Papias, and it was the birthplace of Epictetus.² Melito the apologist was bishop of Sardis. The Quartodeciman and Montanist movements are principally associated with Asia Minor. Many pieces of Christian literature are known to have been written in this region, and some others may conjecturally be assigned to it.

Much is known of the political history of Asia Minor in this period through literary remains and archaeology,³ and much of the religion

* Amico et socio Allen Wikgren : ad multos annos, amice !

¹ This evidence is neither confirmed nor contradicted by the Pauline letters. Unquestionably Paul was quite at home in Anatolia. In most periods of history Tarsus seems to have had close connections with Syria, but also with Anatolia north of the Cilician gates.

² Cf. S.E. Johnson, "Laodicea and Its Neighbors", *Biblical Archaeologist*, 13 (1950), 1-18.

³ The two volume work of David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), is indispensable for political history, and the voluminous notes provide many bibliographical guides. See also T.R.S. Broughton in T. Frank (ed.), *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, IV (Baltimore, 1938), and A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1937).

and culture.¹ But, as always, our knowledge of the ancient world is fragmentary.

This is particularly true of the Christian movements of the period, for Christians were a minority and when they were not persecuted they were outside the mainstream of culture and political power. Any sketch of Christianity in Anatolia must take into account its literary and archaeological remains, but also the political and cultural history of the region, including especially what is known of Judaism in this area.

The purpose of the present essay is to formulate some of the questions to be asked if research—which has been carried on abundantly for many years—is to make further progress.

1. The question prior to all others is, *how appropriate is it to take early Christianity in Anatolia as a unity of study?* Sir William Ramsay made this his life work, and he thought of Paul as both a Roman citizen and an Anatolian Jew. At the same time, we realize that Asia Minor was not an isolated culture area. So far as Greek-speaking people were concerned, it was part of the Hellenistic world and in contact with most parts of it. Greek literature written by Anatolians was circulated everywhere, and writers and scholars travelled widely, Demetrius of Tarsus, for example, a friend of Plutarch, who wrote the treatise *On Style*, was teaching Greek in York in A.D. 80. The work of Paul stretched from Antioch to Macedonia and Achaia and an Anatolian period in it cannot be marked off as unique. There were always close Christian associations with Antioch (and perhaps Jerusalem) on the one side and with Rome on the other.

There is also the fact that Asia Minor contained many different local cultures and the old languages were still spoken, particularly in the villages. Cults differed from place to place. But even because of this very fact Anatolian Christianity was open to influences somewhat different from those in other parts of the empire.²

2. *What was it like to be an Anatolian who had absorbed Greek culture?* And what kind of places were those towns mentioned in the Book of Acts—Lystra, Derbe, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch? *Was this a "developing" country?*

¹ M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2nd edition, II (München, 1961), is the best introduction to pagan religion in Asia Minor.

² See particularly R.W. Ehrich, pp. 1-21 in S.S. Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley, New York, 1956).

We think of the age from Alexander the Great on through an indefinite period as a time of the penetration of Hellenistic culture. There are analogies (however misleading they may be if not used judiciously) between this period and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Various forms of European culture—English, German, French, Spanish, Russian and so on—have been brought into America and Asia. Although there are local differences—relatively more of English and German culture in North America, more of Spanish and French in Central and South America—there is a world-wide diffusion of western cultural traits. Certain nineteenth and early twentieth century Russian writers viewed their own land as a culturally “developing country”; so did some early twentieth century writers in the midwest United States regard the region.

From the point of view of Hellenism, might not various parts of Asia Minor also be regarded as developing countries? We know that in such places the arts can be imitative, but there are many examples of a situation in which contact with the dominant culture has led the indigenous poet or artist to create something rich and new which draws from his own heritage.

Is Atticism in Anatolia, for example, like an attempt to keep up with New York and Paris—or Heidelberg, Göttingen, Oxford and the two Cambridges? How much were Anatolian literature and art imitative, and to what extent creative? And how did intellectuals in Tarsus, Tyana, Ephesus, Sardis and Pergamum feel about their place in the world of culture? There should, of course, be some difference between a great imperial city like Ephesus and a town in the hinterland.

3. *What was the nature of Jewish thought and practice in various parts of Asia Minor?* The answer to this question is important for understanding the development of early Christianity.

Anatolian religion was, as we know, syncretistic. Morton Smith's discussion of aretalogy indicates how much change occurred in the theology and cults of gods and heroes from time to time and from place to place.¹ The cult of Sabazios is a minor example of this.² Judaism and Christianity were by no means isolated from outside influences, but both of these religions had a built-in resistance to whatever their people considered to be a threat to monotheism. A. Thomas Kraabel's

¹ M. Smith, “Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 90 (1971), 174-99, especially pp. 184-87.

² S.E. Johnson, “A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis”, in J. Neusner (ed.), *Religions in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 542-50.

study of Judaism in western Asia Minor¹ brings together practically all that is known at the present time, and this evidence leads us to think that those who were consciously and formally attached to Judaism were not paganized, unless we think of cultural traits that from the Jewish point of view were not religiously significant. Gentile Christianity was more open to influence, but it is always a question of what group we are considering, and what place and time.

4. This leads us to the question of *the errors combatted in the Letter to the Colossians*. If the letter was written by Paul himself, as I believe it was, it bears witness to an early development. If it is pseudepigraphic it can scarcely be later than the end of the first century, and the ideas regarded by the author as destructive are part of the confused situation that is the immediate background of Ignatius and Polycarp.

The "heresy" (an inappropriate term) has been assessed very variously. Lightfoot believed that the Colossians were under the influence of an Essene type of Judaism,² and in my earlier studies I considered the Fourth Book of the Sibylline Oracles as important evidence for this.³ The closely related Epistle to the Ephesians has been supposed to have contacts with the Qumran literature.⁴

Bornkamm, on the other hand, traces some elements in the erroneous teaching, such as the *stoicheia*, back to Indo-Iranian influences and cites the work of Reitzenstein and Schaeder and Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie*. The angel worship and aeon speculations he regards as Jewish gnosis going back to Elkesai and he argues that the Pastoral Epistles also combat a doctrine of aeons which is joined to a strict legalism. He sees here a syncretistic diaspora Judaism open to Persian influences.⁵ This raises the whole question of Jewish gnosis from Palestine and Syria and the extent to which it penetrated Asia Minor.

¹ A. Thomas Kraabel, "Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire", Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968. This will soon be published in an expanded form.

² J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 3rd ed. (London, 1879), pp. 71-111.

³ S.E. Johnson, "Early Christianity in Asia Minor", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 77 (1958), 13f.

⁴ F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, New Jersey, 1961), pp. 216f., and H. Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI", *Harvard Theological Review*, 58 (1965), 316.

⁵ G. Bornkamm, "Die Häresie des Kolosserbriefes", *Das Ende des Gesetzes* (München, 1952), pp. 139-56.

Kraabel's more recent studies present a quite different point of view. He regards it as "premature at the very least" to make direct connections between Colossae and the Qumran literature. Anatolian Jews came mainly from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, not Palestine, and the peculiarities of Colossae can be explained entirely from Anatolian influence. Evidence from Qumran or from rabbinic sources must therefore be used with great caution.¹

So far as Colossae itself is concerned, we have no direct archaeological knowledge of its religion. We know a little more about that of Laodicea, and much more of the cults of the neighboring Hierapolis, which are old Phrygian. An excavation of Colossae would be very desirable.

5. *How are the Judaizers of the Letter to the Galatians to be explained?* Here I must record my judgment that we have to do with North Galatia, not the southern part of the Roman province, as Ramsay believed.² That a Celtic language was spoken in the country districts is no problem; Greek was used in the larger towns.

The Judaizers have been variously identified as Jews, not Christians, from the local synagogue; as Jewish Christian gnostics (like some of those presumed to be in Colossae); or as Jewish Christians who acted either for religious reasons or were impelled by fear of persecution.³

A study of Judaism in the southern part of the province of Galatia has now been made,⁴ and it is hoped that further research may shed light on the situation in North Galatia.

6. *Who were the Judaizers of western Asia Minor, particularly in Philadelphia and Magnesia-toward-Maeander?* We learn of them primarily from the letters of Ignatius. His polemic is directed against Judaism in general, but he is specific on only two points: Sabbath keeping *vs.* the Lord's Day (Magn. 9.1) and dependence on the *archeioi* (the archives or the ancients) *vs.* the kerygma about Jesus Christ

¹ Kraabel, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-46.

² S.E. Johnson, "Early Christianity in Asia Minor", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 77 (1958), 15f.

³ Two series of opponents: W. Lütgert, *Gesetz und Geist* (Gütersloh, 1919); J.H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929). Jewish Christian gnostics: W. Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 48 (1956), 25-67. Jewish Christians: Robert Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation", *New Testament Studies*, 17 (1971), 198-212.

⁴ Ellen S. Saltman, "The Jews of Asia Minor in the Greco-Roman Period: A Religious and Social Study", (unpublished M.A. thesis, Smith College, 1971).

(Philad. 8.2). He makes one curious statement, that it is better to listen to Christianity from a circumcised man than to Judaism from the uncircumcised (Philad. 6.1).

Every discussion of the relations of Christianity and Judaism in this region must start from the magisterial work of Walter Bauer.¹ Bauer believed that by the time when Revelation was written, Pauline Christianity had suffered an almost total eclipse in Ephesus. After the Jewish War, many Jewish Christians fled to Asia Minor and became dominant in the church. Together with the remnant of gentile Christians, they formed a common front against gnostic teachers. Gentile Christians were not required to keep the Law but were open to Jewish influences; hence the Judaizing tendencies which were abhorrent to Ignatius were little more than Sabbath keeping and theological use of the Old Testament.

There may, however, have been more to it than this. The Book of Revelation, for all its Jewish character, inveighs against those who say they are Jews but are not, but are a synagogue of Satan (Rev. 3.9, letter to the church in Philadelphia). My colleague, Massey Shepherd, regards the Judaizing propaganda reflected here and in Ignatius and the Johannine literature as having been carried on not by born Jews but by gentile Christians.²

There can be no doubt about the profound influence of Judaism on Christians of this region. The fourth century Council of Laodicea adopted a canon directing that Christians should not Judaize by keeping Sabbath but should work on Saturday. Melito of Sardis was a bitter opponent of the Jews. Kraabel suggests that this was because they were wealthy, numerous and strong as compared to the small Christian community; the Christians, furthermore, wished to maintain their identity, which was difficult because in so many ways they were Jewish, in their use of the Old Testament and their Quartodeciman practice of keeping the paschal festival on 14 Nisan.

7. *What were the various competing strands of Christian teaching?* Bauer saw two main forces at work in Asia. The "orthodox" community (as it was later deemed to be) was a refounding of the old Pauline church by Jewish Christians from Palestine, perhaps under the leader-

¹ W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1964), pp. 65-98.

² M.H. Shepherd, Jr., in *The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible*, ed. C.M. Laymon (New York, 1971), pp. 707-728, especially p. 708. See also L.W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Oxford, 1966), p. 25.

ship of John, whoever he may have been. They were opposed by a gnosticizing Jewish Christianity. The result, for the "orthodox", was a modification of Pauline teaching, which we can see in the Pastoral Epistles and Polycarp.¹

I should think that Luke-Acts, wherever written, represents similarly a modified Paulinism stripped of some of its most characteristic elements.

Into this situation, Ignatius must have come as an irritating factor, not only because of his insistence on the monarchical episcopate and the bishop's Eucharist as the center of unity, but also because of his extreme one-sided Paulinism. He professes great love and admiration for Polycarp and other bishops but attempts to win them over to his position by assuming that they agree with him.

Koester sees about five influences in western Asia Minor : (1) the originally Pauline church ; (2) a Paulinist influenced by Qumran who wrote Ephesians ; (3) the author of Luke-Acts ; (4) a Jewish Christian "school" represented by Cerinthus which engaged in a daring interpretation of the Old Testament ; and (5) the Jewish Christian conventicle out of which came the Book of Revelation.²

This seems reasonable enough. It appears to me, however, that the matter can be looked at from another point of view. There are various strands that may coalesce in different ways. The writers whose fragments are preserved to us may be classified in more than one way. There are those who use the Old Testament very little. Ignatius tends to depreciate it. Polycarp and the author of the Pastorals, for all their reverence for it, use it relatively little. The Johannine epistles make practically no use of it. On the other hand, the author of Revelation is steeped in it, Ephesians makes moderate use of it (some of the quotations, as in Polycarp, may be Christian commonplaces), while the author of the Fourth Gospel lives deeply in the O.T. understood in a Christological fashion. In some of our writers, such as Ignatius, there is such a radical contrast between the old and the new that the way is prepared for Marcion, and the antecedents of this remarkable man need further to be investigated.

There are differences in Christology. The doctrines of Ignatius, of

¹ For the theory that Polycarp wrote the Pastorals, see H. von Campenhausen, "Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe", *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 196-252.

² H. Koester, "The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity", *Harvard Theological Review*, 58 (1965), 279-318.

the Fourth Gospel, and of the Pastorals are in general compatible with that of Paul, but in each case the approach is different. We know of competing Christologies. The two known opponents as Cerinthus and Marcion.

Cerinthus is usually called a docetist, and in one sense he was. He was also an adoptionist who taught that before the Crucifixion the impassible Christ departed from the human Jesus. He also predicted a future earthly kingdom in which pleasures of the flesh would be enjoyed, and in this respect he reminds us of Papias. The opponent of Cerinthus was "John the disciple of the Lord". In Cerinthus there are Jewish ideas mingled with the gnostic notion that the highest God did not create the world. Marcion's Christ was clearly docetic. While he had some other gnostic traits, he was in most respects a biblical theologian selecting certain ideas of Paul's and sharpening them.

Docetism is certainly attacked by Ignatius, Polycarp, the Pastorals, and the Johannine gospel and epistles, though the portrait of Jesus in the gospel may be slightly affected by docetic traits. Two other questions arise at this point : What other types of gnosticism affected the Christian movement in Asia Minor ? Can we come closer to an understanding of Paul's opponents in Galatia and Colossae ?

The question whether gnosis affected the Gospel of Thomas is much debated. The traits in it that may be gnostic do not seem to have affected western Asia Minor. Edessa, so far as I know, had no close contacts with Ephesus at this time.

While the "orthodox" stood firm on the basic message of Jesus' birth, incarnation, true humanity, cross and resurrection, they appear to differ in their interest in the gospel story as a whole. While the Book of Revelation echoes gospel material (the contacts are with Matthew), its author knows the regnant and coming Christ mainly from the Old Testament, from the apocalyptic tradition, and from his own prophetic experience. Papias of Hierapolis knew of the gospels of Mark and Matthew, and his comments on their authorship have been preserved. But in view of his statement that he preferred oral tradition to written books, it seems clear that his lost five books of *Interpretations of the Dominical Logia* commented on oral traditions known to him rather than sayings from the canonical gospels.¹ The fragments that have been preserved show that he was fond of chiliastic predictions attributed to Jesus. Although an apocalypticist, he is not

¹ B.W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (New York, 1930), pp. 1f.

of the same type as the author of Revelation. There were no doubt many kinds of prophets.

Ignatius seems to know Matthew, but his letters show no interest in Jesus' teachings or in the non-kerygmatic parts of the story. Polycarp appears to be better informed, but his longest quotation (Polyc. Phil. 2.3) seems to be dependent on I Clem. 13.2, modified from both Matthew and Luke, which gospels he knew. It is not so certain that he knew Mark.

Both oral tradition and written gospels were available, at least in some places. The gospel which has the best claim to connections with western Asia Minor is that of John. Traditionally it comes from Ephesus; Antioch is another possibility. Like Ignatius, it somehow belongs to the Antioch-Ephesus axis. It may seem curious that Polycarp does not exhibit its influence, but, after all, Smyrna was not Ephesus. It would seem to be the perfect gospel to meet the needs that we have seen present in Asia Minor. It deals positively rather than negatively with docetism and the developing gnosism, and it expresses an incarnation doctrine as sturdily as language can do.¹ It is kerygmatic in a way that meets most of the aspirations of Ignatius—except for the structure of church government, which is outside the author's purpose. Behind the Fourth Gospel is a tradition which is perhaps mainly independent of that which went into the making of the synoptics. It combines kerygma and sayings and miracles with discourses behind which is the work of a Christian prophet, sensitive to the spiritual needs which produced gnosticism, speaking in the name of the risen Christ through the Holy Spirit. Its formulation of

¹ A provocative article by Georg Richter, "Die Fleischwerdung des Logos im Johannes-evangelium", *Novum Testamentum*, 13 (1971), 81-126, develops the thesis that the *Grund-schrift* of the Fourth Gospel and its prologue were originally non-incarnational, i.e., gnostic, and that the passages indicating a true incarnation belong to a later stage. The issue, of course, is whether Richter is correct or whether the principal author is responsible for using proto-gnostic ideas and language to express the incarnation faith. Richter lists passages from various Christian writings in which the *Heilsbringer* is apparently preexistent, has an epiphany in this world and saves men, but is not said to be incarnate. A second group of passages speaks of his preexistence and incarnation, and a third group including Jn. 1.14-18 is not only incarnational but usually anti-docetic. If we were to follow Richter (as I do not), I would prefer to assign the gnostic *Grund-schrift* to Syria and the incarnational passages to Ephesus. Assuming, as I do, that the gospel is a substantial unity, I would suppose that the proto-gnostic ideas which the evangelist corrects arose in Syria, perhaps even in Palestine. Does not the strong affirmation that Jesus truly came in the flesh fit best with Ephesus at the end of the first century?

the message has contacts with an oriental spirituality which contains Hellenistic-oriental and Jewish elements. The gospel is in touch with the Old Testament at all points. In every way it was fitted to foster that unity which Ignatius attempted to bring in a fervent, almost hysterical fashion, which Ephesians worked for more soberly, and the Pastoral Epistles with a rather more clumsy hand.

8. At this point we may sharpen the question. *Why do we see in this literature so little trace of the material that makes up the bulk of the synoptic gospels?* Naturally this question applies not only to Asia Minor but to other parts of the church.

Perhaps we should say first that the evidence is rather fragmentary, so that it is hazardous to generalize.

The easiest solution of the problem is to invoke the insights of form criticism and to remind ourselves that we should consider the *Gattung* of each separate piece of writing. Thus it does not surprise us too much that later in the second century Theophilus of Antioch bases his apology *To Autolycus* mainly on Old Testament passages and on stock arguments against paganism. That is the way one wrote an apology; educated pagans understood that the Old Testament was an ancient and venerable book. Today no one expects a Christian religious philosopher to be quoting the gospels all the time.

Just so it may have been the convention that when a church or its leader wrote to another church the arguments were based on para-netic materials other than gospel tradition. It has been shown by van Unnik that I Clement belongs to a well-known species of literature.¹

This raises the question—and not just for Asia Minor—of the function both of the oral gospel tradition and the written gospels. Form critics have made assumptions—liturgical use, sermons at the Eucharist and elsewhere, catechesis—but I suspect that for this early period we really do not know.

The Old Testament, where it was in use, was the Church's Bible, and the kerygma, when and where it was used, could be employed with or without Old Testament references. It still seems strange that appeal could be made to the reality of the Incarnation without much mention of what Jesus actually did in his ministry. But perhaps this is because we are historically minded modern people who have always had the gospels. The principal interest of the Asia Minor "ortho-

¹ W.C. van Unnik, "Studies over de zogenaamde eerste brief van Clemens, 1. Het literaire genre", *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 33, No. 4* (1970), 151-204.

dox" was salvation through the Cross and Resurrection and through faith, Baptism, the Eucharist, and obedience. Indeed the words of Paul may have been influential : though once we knew Christ after the flesh, we know him so no more (II Cor. 5.16).

9. The problem just mentioned does not apply completely to the Fourth Gospel, because only in a limited sense is it concerned with Christ "after the flesh"; much more than the Synoptics, it portrays the Christ proclaimed in the kerygma and known by faith. Thus it is a synthesis of two ways of going about Christian teaching. *But how are we to fit the two-volume work Luke-Acts into the picture?* I know of no way to determine where it was written. Acts contains an Antiochene source but this is not dominant in the book. If the author of the final work was also author of the we-sections—which is doubtful—he could as easily have been a Macedonian as a Greek from Achaia or Asia Minor. He was certainly not a Palestinian. The book contains fragmentary and sometimes confused information about Paul's travels in Anatolia. The tendency of the gospel fits well with the modified Paulinism of the Pastorals, which seem indeed to echo Acts. Paul is the great missionary, not the stormy and creative apostle of the epistles. Goodspeed conjectured long ago that someone read Luke-Acts and was stimulated to collect the Pauline letters then extant and write Ephesians. If so, Ephesians was most probably written in Asia Minor. But how did Ignatius know Paul so well? The collection, or part of it, must have existed in Antioch.

Where, indeed, did the Gospel of Luke originate? We know that Marcion, who came from Sinope, used a briefer form of it as his *euangelion*. It has always baffled many of us to realize that in most ways the Gospel of John would have served Marcion's theological purpose better. To be sure, John actively teaches the Incarnation, while the abbreviated Luke seems to avoid this difficulty. Nevertheless, whether Marcion abbreviated the gospel or had it already in shorter form, there are passages which he included which are not particularly appropriate for Marcionism. The best explanation is that it was part of the tradition with which he grew up. Might the gospel even have been written in Pontius, or at least in some region not too far from Sinope?

Whatever we say about these matters, Luke-Acts bears witness to a lively interest in what the earthly Jesus did and said, and it contains one well-recognized theological peculiarity. Jesus was the Suffering Servant who died in accordance with the Scriptures, but it is not suggested that it is his death which saves man; rather it is

their faith in him, their receipt of the Holy Spirit, and their obedience to his commands. The compromise in Acts 15 by which gentile converts have to keep only a few legal rules, reflected also in the Book of Revelation, would have been congenial to the modified Jewish Christianity which Bauer believed to exist in Ephesus. It is significant that Marcion had nothing to do with the Book of Acts.

10. *What are the origins of Christian prophecy in Asia Minor?* Later in the second century the Montanist movement spread from Phrygia to other parts of the empire. But it is well known that long before Montanus there were Christian prophets, both men and women, reckoned as "orthodox" at a later time, in Asia Minor. The two principal places seem to have been Philadelphia, where Ignatius himself as a prophet had spoken "with a great voice, with the voice of God" (Philad. 7.1; cf. 5.2), and Hierapolis, where Philip lived with his three unmarried daughters, while the other lived in Ephesus—but all were prophetesses. The author of the Book of Revelation was no mere writer of apocalyptic; he was also a prophet. Melito of Sardis in the peroration of his *Peri Pascha* steps out of his character as a bishop and as a prophet proclaims the words of the risen Christ. We have already spoken of the prophetic character of the Fourth Gospel, whose discourses are in the I-style.

Kraabel notes the prominence of women in the Jewish communities of western Asia Minor, which fits with Anatolian culture, in which women took important positions in cults and in civic life. He also finds that Montanism is an essentially native Phrygian development and that "orthodox" Christianity in Anatolia shares many of its features.¹ Here we may parenthetically recall the importance of Thecla in the Acts of Paul. At the same time, prophecy was characteristic of Palestinian Christianity, and Luke even thinks of Anna as a prophetess (Luke 2.36) like Hulda in the O.T. May it not be that a prophetic movement from Palestine found congenial soil in Hierapolis and from there spread to other parts of Phrygia and Asia?

11. *How much anti-imperialism existed in Anatolian Christianity?* Asia was the province most strongly devoted to the empire and the imperial cult. Paul had been a good Roman. The Pastoral Epistles—closely related to Polycarp if not actually written by him—are favorable to the empire, and so is I Peter, which must have been circulated in Asia Minor. Melito at least dedicated an apology to the

¹ Kraabel, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-54.

emperor, and I suspect that he may have handed it personally to Lucius Verus.¹ The Gospel of John appears to stand aloof from imperial politics, and it mitigates the guilt of Pilate to a greater degree than any of the canonical gospels. We do not know how Ignatius came to be arrested or whether his martyrdom and that of Polycarp had anything to do with political issues.

The Book of Revelation is another matter. John is a prophet who is not merely concerned with the Church but also knows something of social and economic conditions. Were there people in the province of Asia who still felt sympathy for the lost cause of Mithradates of Pontus as an oriental opponent of Rome?

Hans Jonas propounded the theory that gnosis was at least in part the reflection of alienation. It was a spiritual revolt against the triumphant march of Hellenism from the time of Alexander the Great.² The Stoics had their own way of adjusting to the situation, as we can see from Epictetus, born in Hierapolis. But there were philosophers, particularly Cynics, who were martyred under the empire, and Philostratus depicts Apollonius of Tyana as defying Domitian and his court. Montanism was a native movement that in its own way stood against the prevailing culture. The question is to what extent earlier Christianity prepared the way for this manifestation of spiritual independence.

12. There are no doubt other questions, such as whether the peculiar Jewish Christianity of the *Kerygmata Petrou* in the pseudo-Clementines affected Asia Minor. But there is one baffling question, though it pertains to Syria rather than to Asia Minor, the origin of Ignatius of Antioch and *how he developed his point of view*.³ Like so many creative persons, like his hero St. Paul, he is a mystery. He appears almost like Melchizedek, without father or mother or genealogy or beginnings, though we think we do know his end. Certainly he is another example of an oriental alienated from the prevailing culture.

¹ S.E. Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis", *Early Christian Origins*, ed. A. Wikgren (Chicago, 1961), pp. 86f.

² H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1963), pp. 17-27.

³ Various solutions have been attempted, e.g., H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen, 1929); C.C. Richardson, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York, 1935); Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven, 1960).

THE PHENOMENON OF EARLY CHRISTIAN "ANTI-SACRAMENTALISM"

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I

For the historian of early Christianity, the use of hypothetical models or typologies is indispensable for the meaningful arrangement and interpretation of disparate data. However, such typologies must facilitate rather than obstruct the historian's interpretive task; when they prove obstructive they must either be modified or discarded. During the past century, studies relating to Israelite and early Christian thought and history have been particularly plagued with typologies which, while once perhaps useful, now serve to stifle, constrict and falsify the complex documentary evidence rather than give it adequate consideration and proper expression. Many of these inadequate models have taken the form of simplistic polarities or antitheses formulated and valorized by the residual influence of the Idealistic religious philosophy underlying much of liberal and neo-orthodox Protestantism.

An example of one such simplistic antithesis which has been applied to Old Testament studies is the dichotomy between prophetic and priestly elements in Israelite religion.¹ For a generation it has been acknowledged that these two once theoretically separable tendencies within Israelite religion are in fact inextricably intertwined.² Many

¹ While such a dichotomy may bear a superficial resemblance to one of the typologies used by Max Weber, namely the distinction between the prophetic and priestly role in the dynamics of social change, the resemblance is only apparent, for Weber places no value judgment on one or the other of these social roles. His generalizations about the prophetic role and charisma are not seriously impaired by erroneous statements about the nature of Israelite prophecy; see Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. E. Fischhoff (Boston, 1963), pp. 46-59.

² On this subject see A.R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1944), and two evaluations of the present state of research, one by O. Eissfeldt, "The Prophetic Literature", *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. H.H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), pp. 119-26, and H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, trans. D.E. Green (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 248-94.

prophets were simultaneously priests; others arose out of priestly circles. Prophets also preserved priestly materials and were most probably absorbed back into priestly ranks after the Exile.

The persistent use of similar typological antitheses in the modern study of early Christianity has had and continues to have a stifling effect on progress in research. Analogous to the prophet-priest antithesis of Old Testament studies, late first and early second century Christian organizational development continues to be viewed in terms of a conflict between itinerant charismatic leaders and settled, Establishment-oriented ecclesiastical officials. Other forms of typological antithesis, possessing varying degrees of respectability, include: (1) the continuing influence of the Sohm-Harnack debate on *spirits* vs. law in early Christianity,¹ (2) the valorization of inner religious experience vs. external rites and rituals, (3) the prophetic eschatology of Jesus vs. the apocalyptic eschatology of early Christianity,² (4) the opposition of cult to eschatology,³ (5) early Christian "enthusiasm" vs. apocalypticism, (6) Palestinian Christianity vs. Hellenistic Christianity, (7) the historical concerns of the evangelists (in terms of *Heilsgeschichte*) over against the non-historical orientation of pre-literary gospel tradition, (8) the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith vs. the notion of "early catholicism," and (9) the New Testament emphasis on grace and faith vs. the stultifying "moralism" of the Apostolic Fathers.⁴ Time would fail me to list more.

These and other typological antitheses or polarities have a deleterious effect on research into early Christianity in two ways: (1) Delineation of a typological structure for the facilitation of the historian's interpretive task in terms of two opposite tendencies is remarkably simplistic and inevitably reductionistic in the face of the

¹ See Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries* (Stanford, 1969), and Robert M. Grant's review in *Church History*, 38 (1969), 525-26.

² Cf. Norman Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 177f; W.G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: the Eschatological Message of Jesus*, trans. D.M. Barton (London, 1961), p. 153. This separation of Jesus from apocalyptic notions is above all characteristic of the post-Bultmannian New Quest of the historical Jesus.

³ The interrelationship of eschatology and cult is an aspect of the thesis of my recent monograph, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity* (Leiden, 1972).

⁴ T.F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1948), esp. pp. 133-41.

complex movements, developments and interrelationships of any aspect of human history.¹ (2) The valorization of one of the contrasting principles over against the other is to abandon historical criteria which rise out of the data and to impose external theoretical criteria upon the data. In a climate of modern scholarship in which the phenomenological method has increasingly gained ground among historians generally and historians of religion in particular, it is an unfortunate methodological retrogression when typologies with inherent value judgments are used under the pretext of doing historical research.²

The purpose of the present essay is to critically evaluate the underlying presuppositions and historical validity of one such typological antithesis: the word vs. sacrament dichotomy applied to the Fourth Gospel and early Christian thought generally by Rudolf Bultmann. The difficulty in dealing with Bultmann on a subject of this nature is that he does not attempt, nor even claim to attempt, objective or dispassionate historical inquiry, i.e. he does not adopt the phenomenological method in the investigation of the religion of early Christianity.³ The result is that Bultmann has not produced descriptive history, but rather normative theology. This is clearly stated at the conclusion of his *Theology of the New Testament*:

Either the writings of the New Testament can be interrogated as the "sources" which the historian interprets in order to reconstruct a picture of primitive Christianity as a phenomenon of the historical past, or the reconstruction stands in the service of the interpretation of the New Testament writings under the presupposition that they have something to say to the present. The latter interest is the one for which historical labor is put to service in the presentation here offered.⁴

¹ Robert M. Grant, *A Historical Introduction to the New Testament* (New York and Evanston, 1963), pp. 81f.

² Cf. C.J. Bleeker, "Comparing the Religio-Historical and the Theological Method", *Numen*, 18 (1971), 28: "The theologian ultimately assumes a personal attitude toward religious values. The historian of religions acknowledges the existence of religious values and tries to understand their significance. But this method should be completely free from any value judgment". Since a commentary on historical data from a certain perspective only reveals the implications of that perspective and says little about the data, a phenomenological description of the data is what is needed; cf. J.D. Bettis, *Phenomenology of Religion* (New York and Evanston, 1969), p. 7. See also Robert M. Grant, "The Study of Early Christianity", *Religion*, ed. P. Ramsey (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965), p. 153.

³ Rudolf Bultmann, *History and Eschatology* (New York, 1957), pp. 110-137.

⁴ *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. K. Grobel, II (New York, 1955), 251.

In the organization of this work, the theologies of Paul and John are placed adjacent to each other, certainly not on the basis of historical factors.¹ Rather, these men are claimed to have achieved the proper Christian understanding of existence since both paradoxically understand the "eschatological occurrence" to be already taking place in the present.² Bultmann then proceeds to judge other early phases of Christianity on the basis of whether or not they have achieved the standard of Paul or John. The basis for this discrimination is clearly not historical, but is rather a theoretical (theological) criterion derived from the existentialist presuppositions of the interpreter. There can be little doubt that when history is thus transformed "in the service of" theology, the integrity of the historical method is seriously transgressed.

II. BULTMANN AND THE "ANTI-SACRAMENTALISM" OF THE FOURTH EVANGELIST

With a few noteworthy exceptions, the Fourth Evangelist maintains what some scholars have called a "strange silence" with regard to the Christian "sacraments."³ The narrative of Jesus' baptism by John is missing, as is the institution of the Lord's Supper from Jesus' last meal with his disciples which, unlike the Synoptics, is not a Passover meal. After the second mention of the fact that Jesus baptized followers (Jn. 3.22; 4.1), the Evangelist quickly inserts a parenthetical denial that Jesus himself ever baptized anyone (Jn. 4.2). Unlike Matthew, the Fourth Gospel contains no command that the disciples baptize future converts. These phenomena may be contrasted with three explicit allusions to the sacraments: (1) John 3.5, where "Water and the Spirit" most probably alludes to baptism, (2) John 6. 51b-58, clearly referring to the Eucharist, and (3) John 19.34b, just as clearly referring to both baptism and the Eucharist.

While it is not my purpose to enter into most aspects of the lively

¹ Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, trans. J. Bowden (New York and Evanston, 1969), p. 291, n. 1.

² Bultmann, *Theology*, II, 9f.

³ The term "sacraments" is placed in quotes because (1) there was no such equivalent term in the early years of Christianity, and (2) the use of the term makes it remarkably easy for modern scholars to anachronistically retroject their own definitions and conceptions back into ancient contexts.

and heated debate on the question of Johannine sacramentalism,¹ I will briefly enumerate the major interpretive solutions to the problem:² (1) The "ultrasacramental" approach, in which the symbolism of the Fourth Gospel is sacramentally interpreted whenever even remotely feasible (A. Schweitzer, O. Cullmann, L. Bouyer, A. Corell). (2) The "moderate" approach to Johannine sacramentalism, which sees sacramentalism as an integral aspect of Johannine thought, but uses a judicious approach to interpreting Johannine symbolism (most commentators, including J.H. Bernard, C.H. Dodd, C.K. Barrett, R. Brown). (3) The "non-sacramental" approach, which sees the sacraments as only a marginal or subordinate aspect of Johannine theology (G. Bornkamm, E. Käsemann, E. Lohse). (4) The "anti-sacramental" approach, which sees in the Fourth Evangelist a critic of the extremes to which sacramentalism had been taken in the church of his time (E.F. Scott, E.C. Colwell and E.L. Titus, J.D.G. Dunn, R. Bultmann). In addition, there is the widely held view, characteristic of scholars in all of the above-mentioned categories but particularly the last, that the late first century church was in grave danger of transforming the sacraments into magical rites for communicating salvation and purification. The Fourth Evangelist is consequently viewed as a reformer attempting to establish the symbolic and spiritual nature of the rites or as one who suspiciously rejected them because of the gross way in which they had been misused.³

¹ Although to criticize a hypothesis one need not necessarily replace it with a more satisfactory one, I do concur with the theory of Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. W. Montgomery (New York, 1931), pp. 349-72; cf. Ethelbert Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, trans. J. Marsh (New York, 1956), p. 164. This theory is, of course, at least as old as Tertullian (*De bapt.* 11).

² See the brief surveys in W.F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, rev. C.K. Barrett (London, 1955), pp. 195-212, and Raymond Brown, "The Johannine Sacramentary", *New Testament Essays* (Garden City, New Jersey, 1968), pp. 77-107.

³ Cf. Christian Maurer, *Ignatius von Antiochien und das Johannesevangelium* (Zürich, 1949), p. 87: "Johannes lehrt nicht nur nicht magisch, er wendet sich sogar gegen ein magisches Missverständniss des Abendmahles". G.H.C. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John* (London, 1928), p. 162, where the author states that John wants "to interpret and spiritualize these conceptions and thus save the Church from superstitious materialism". *Idem*, "The Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel", *New Testament Studies*, 9 (1962-63), 118: "... John has in view dangerous tendencies within the Church, largely due to the influence of the realistic magic-sacramentalism of the mystery cults". See also W.F. Howard, *Christianity According to St. John* (London, 1943), p. 149 and Percy Gardner, *The Ephesian Gospel* (London, 1915), pp. 206f. Karl Barth sees John's teaching on baptism as a "Protest gegen die Vorstellung von einer in der Taufe stattfindenden Heilswirkung oder Heilsoffenbarung" (*Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*, IV-4 [Zürich, 1967], p. 132).

Among the anti-sacramental interpretations of the Fourth Gospel, there are several approaches to the way in which the textual phenomena are handled : (1) Some deny that the "obvious" references to the sacraments (especially John 3.5; 6.51b-58) refer to external rites at all; rather, they refer to the inner appropriation of salvific benefits through the use of such metaphors for faith as "eating his flesh," "drinking his blood," and "baptized with water."¹ (2) Others regard Johannine references to inner religious experience (characterized by such terms as "believe" and "Spirit") and to "crude" external religious rites as authentically Johannine, but in fundamental tension and conflict. Johannine sacramentalism is either a mere otiose survival in the non-logical thought of the Evangelist,² or such sacramental language is used precisely to contradict current notions of sacramental piety.³ (3) A final approach used by anti-sacramental interpreters

¹ While this interpretation of John 6.51b-58 is a very old one (cf. Gospel of Philip 105. 5-7), it may be found more recently in Bernhard Weiss, *Das Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk* (Berlin, 1912), p. 132; Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 5. Aufl. (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1924), I, 326f.; B.F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids, 1954), I, 239ff.; Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, IV-4, p. 132.

² MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, pp. 161f., sees two inconsistent lines of thought in comparing Jn. 6.51-58 with 6.63. However, this inconsistency is not completely John's fault, for "the thought of the day would recognize no such complete antagonism as do we between matter and spirit ...". A more candid revelation of the presuppositions of Idealistic thought would be hard to come by. See also E.F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel : Its Purpose and Theology*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 294.

³ E.C. Colwell and E.L. Titus, *The Gospel of the Spirit : A Study in the Fourth Gospel* (New York, 1953), pp. 51f., where they claim that John repudiated sacramentalism because it violated his dynamic concept of religion : "The sacramental view of religion is consequently too mechanical for him to embrace it". See remarks in a similar vein on p. 153. Colwell and Titus understand Jn. 6.51b-58 "non-sacramentally" since the sacramental view is explicitly repudiated by John in 6.63 (pp. 51, n. 4, 56). Most of those scholars who hypothecate a "misuse" of the sacraments in the late first century church (above, p. 198, n. 3), do so on the basis of the false supposition that the Fourth Evangelist presents a corrective view of the sacraments in Jn. 6 directed at contemporary ecclesiastical sacramentalism. A view similar to that of Colwell-Titus is found in J.D.G. Dunn, "John vi - A Eucharistic Discourse?" *New Testament Studies*, 17 (1970-71), 328-38. According to Dunn, the Evangelist is concerned both with countering docetic Christology and at the same time the orthodox over-reaction to that error which resulted in an over-emphasis given to the Eucharist. "It is simply that John is concerned lest too much attention be given through the physical elements" (p. 337). Similarly, Dunn sees in Jn. 3.5 a polemic against false sacramentalism directed to readers who over-valued the sacrament; cf. J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (London, 1970), pp. 193f. Similarly, R.H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel : Its Significance and Environment*. 3rd ed. (London, 1943), p. 191, where he sees behind Jn. 6.51-58 a notion that the Evangelist

of the Fourth Gospel is to regard the more explicit Johannine references to baptism and the Eucharist (Jn. 3.5; 6.51b-58; 19.34b) as redactional additions to the Gospel text by a later churchman less critical of sacramental piety than was the Fourth Evangelist.

Underlying all of these anti-sacramental approaches to the Fourth Gospel is a tendency to denigrate the sacraments as external, crude and magical rites, and to valorize either inner religious experience or its functional equivalent, existential response to the kerygmatic word. Both liberal and neo-orthodox Protestants have looked down into the well of the Fourth Gospel, and (as in the case of the myriad lives of Jesus so superbly described and criticized by Albert Schweitzer) very naturally found their own images reflected in the water. Most of the pioneers of the neo-orthodox movement, including Bultmann, emerged themselves from what they considered an arid and sterile liberalism to establish a more radically transcendent "theology of the Word." As was the case with the older Protestant liberalism, Bultmann's own existential theology continues to presuppose the values of the religious philosophy of post-Kantian German Idealism. Only here the existential decision of faith is valorized over against worldly "false" supports for faith.

Bultmann's theory of the anti-sacramental posture of the Fourth Evangelist is only one aspect of his reconstruction of the theological position of the Evangelist. In addition to a critical attitude toward current sacramental piety, the Evangelist also rejects the older apocalyptic eschatology,¹ refuses to find the locus of the Church in the Twelve or their successors, is conscious of Christianity's estrangement from Judaism and is sparing in his use of the Old Testament because

is fighting off a "supersticious ... partaking of the elements which would entirely isolate the sacramental experience from other religious occasions". Strachan wonders to what degree the recipients of the Gospel were "in danger of confusing the visible embodiment of the truth with the truth itself" (p. 192). In Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 124ff., the author expresses the view that Jn. 6.51-58 contradicts the rest of the chapter: "The contradiction is partly to be explained as an instance of John's peculiar method. He does not discard the common beliefs, even when they clash with his own, but accepts them formally in order to interpret and spiritualise them. In the present instance he takes the popular conception of the religious value of the Supper, and sets it in the light of a higher and more reasonable conception".

¹ Elsewhere I have tried to refute the notion of Bultmann and others that the Fourth Evangelist either rejects or reinterprets the older eschatology; cf. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology*, pp. 48-64.

he lacks a history of salvation perspective.¹ While the present essay is devoted to only one aspect of Bultmann's interpretation of the Fourth Evangelist's perspective, I do not think that it does violence to the integrity of his hypothesis.

Let us now delineate more closely Bultmann's theory of the Fourth Evangelist's anti-sacramental stance, basing our remarks primarily on his commentary on the Fourth Gospel and his *Theology of the New Testament*.

In commenting on the phrase "water and" in Jn. 3.5, Bultmann concludes that since the reference clearly alludes to baptism, it is obviously an interpolation which occurred with the ecclesiastical redaction of the Gospel.² Here, as in chapters 6 and 13, the Evangelist "consciously rejects the sacramentalism of ecclesiastical piety."³ With regard to Jn. 6.51b-58, he concludes that the passage obviously refers to the Eucharist, and so must be assigned to an ecclesiastical redaction on the basis that it (1) is strangely out of line with the Evangelist's thought as a whole, and (2) it contradicts previous statements in Jn. 6.⁴ At this juncture he reiterates his judgment that "the Evangelist adopts a critical position with regard to cultic sacramental piety [which] can also be seen in ch. 13."⁵ With respect to Jn. 13.10, Bultmann sets forth two possible interpretations of the polemic against ritual washing found in the passage: (1) either the Evangelist is opposing further ritual washings in addition to Christian baptism,⁶ or (2) "on the contrary, the service Jesus performs, through the word and as the Word, is considered to be fundamentally opposed to every form of sacramental purification, baptism included."⁷ He

¹ The theological stance of the Fourth Evangelist as reconstructed by Bultmann is outlined by D.M. Smith, *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory* (New Haven and London, 1965), p. 240. Many of these elements are summarized by Bultmann himself in his *Theology of the New Testament*, II, 3-14.

² Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray, et.al. (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 138, n. 3, and *idem*, *Theology*, II, 58.

³ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, p. 138, n. 3, and *idem*, *Theology*, II, 9.

⁴ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, pp. 218f., 234; *idem*, *Theology*, II, 59.

⁵ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, p. 220.

⁶ This interpretation is supported by Wilhelm Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen* (Giessen, 1910), pp. 121f., and Gustav Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (Giessen, 1922), p. 237. Repeated baptisms or washings (reflected in Heb. 6.2) were characteristic of Jewish-Christian baptismal sects such as the Ebionites (Epiphanius *Panarion* 30.16) and the Elkezaites (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13, 15-16).

⁷ Bultmann, *Gospel of John*, pp. 471f.

considers the latter possibility to be the most probable.¹ Recognizing the historical problem inherent in this judgment, he goes on to say,

If it is strange to conceive of an early Christian movement in which baptism was rejected, this cannot be excluded a priori; one could explain it as arising out of opposition to the movements that had ascribed an excessive value to baptism and baptismal washings.²

In the same vein, after summarizing the various aspects of the problem of Johannine sacramentalism, he states,

One can therefore explain the facts only by concluding that, while the Evangelist came to terms with ecclesiastical practise in regard to baptism and the Lord's Supper, it remained suspect to him, because of its misuse, and that this is why he has made no mention of it ... If the Evangelist did come to terms with the sacraments, he can only have understood them in the sense that in them the word is made present in a special way.³

Finally, Bultmann attributes Jn. 19.34b-35, which obviously refers to the death of Jesus as the foundation of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, to the hand of the ecclesiastical redactor.⁴

While these summary remarks have included all of the important references to the anti-sacramental stance of the Fourth Evangelist made by Bultmann in his commentary on John and his work on New Testament theology, his views cannot be taken out of the context of his schema of the dynamic development of early Christian theological thought. The typology which Bultmann use to chart the evolution of early Christian thought is the eschatology-cult dichotomy.⁵ This development is basically characterized by Bultmann as a change in the church's understanding of itself from a community of the saved

¹ That Bultmann favors this latter view is clearly stated in *Gospel of John*, p. 472, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 472.

³ *Ibid.* At the conclusion of his comments on Jn. 13.21-30, Bultmann states that the Evangelist has introduced the prayer of Jesus in Jn. 17 in place of the Lord's Supper and with unmistakable reference to it (*Ibid.*, pp. 485f., 511), and supplying its authentic meaning (p. 486).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 677f., and *idem*, *Theology*, II, 59.

⁵ Bultmann, *History and Eschatology*, pp. 51-55, and *idem*, *Theology*, II, 95-236 (the entire section titled "The Development Toward the Ancient Church"). Bultmann partially accounts for the movement from eschatology to cult through the hypothesis of "Parusieverzögerung", in itself a questionable theory. On this see the criticisms of David Flusser based on analogous socio-religious millenarian movements in his article "Salvation Present and Future", *Types of Redemption*, Supplements to Numen, XVIII (Leiden, 1970).

to an institution of salvation,¹ in which the sacraments are gradually transformed into efficacious rites which mediate the powers of the future life to the individual.² Thus the Pauline and Johannine emphasis on the eschatological present-future dialectic, with its existential implications, is gradually lost sight of, with only its partial preservation in the theology of Ignatius of Antioch. The last section of his *Theology of the New Testament* is therefore devoted to demonstrating the decline and fall of the true Christian understanding of existence which had achieved its purest form in the theology of the Fourth Evangelist.

In summary, let us enumerate several features of Bultmann's theory of the anti sacramental posture of the Fourth Evangelist: (1) While references to the sacraments are not totally excluded from the Fourth Gospel by the Evangelist, they play no role whatsoever in his thought. (2) Although the Evangelist engages in no frontal assault on current sacramental piety, he does maintain a critical, suspicious attitude toward every form of sacramental purification and sacramental communication of salvific benefits. (3) The anti-sacramental stance of the Evangelist can only be explained in terms of his negative reaction to the misuse of the sacraments in the church of his day as ritual means of communicating salvation and purification. (4) While such an anti-sacramental stance of an early Christian group is difficult to conceive of, such a possibility cannot be excluded a priori. (5) The word of Jesus is in fundamental opposition to every form of sacramental piety.

III. EVIDENCE OF ANTI-SACRAMENTALISM IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

While the argument for the anti-sacramental posture of the Fourth Evangelist cannot be excluded a priori, as Bultmann pleads, such an argument could be considerably strengthened or weakened by the presence or absence of supportive evidence external to the Fourth Gospel itself. Our present purpose is to consider notices of groups of early Christians who, for one reason or another, consciously rejected the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist during the first several

¹ Bultmann, *History and Eschatology*, p. 53, and *idem*, *Theology*, II, 112.

² Bultmann, *Theology*, II, 113f. An excellent summary of Bultmann's position is now available in André Malet, *The Thought of Rudolf Bultmann*, trans. R. Strachan (Garden City, New York, 1971), pp. 218ff.

centuries of the Christian era.¹ The present author was able to discover only seven possible examples of anti-sacramentalism : (1) Ignatius *Ad Smyrnaeos* 7.1; (2) Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.21.4; (3) Tertullian *De baptismo*; (4) Origen *De oratione* 5.1; (5) Clementine Recognitions 6.8-9; Homilies 11.26.1; (6) Epiphanius *Panarion* 40.2; (7) Theodoret *Haer. fab. comp.* 1.10.

1. Ignatius *Ad Smyrnaeos* 7.1. Ignatius of Antioch is the first Christian writer to provide explicit evidence, in the view of some scholars, of early Christian anti-sacramentalism. The detailed discussion of this passage is particularly important in view of the close chronological, geographical, theological and literary relationship which undoubtedly exists between the Fourth Evangelist and Ignatius of Antioch, as well as by the fact that H. Schlier has found characteristic conceptions of Jewish baptismal sects in the writings of Ignatius.² In Smyrn. 7.1, we read that "They abstain from the Eucharist and prayer (εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται) because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our savior Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins, whom the Father raised by his goodness." While some scholars see in this passage a complete abandonment of the Eucharist by the docetic opponents of Ignatius,³ others—including the present writer—find evidence to support the view that the "heretics" held their own baptisms and Eucharists within a private cultic setting in a manner expressive of their own distinctive brand of

¹ An excellent discussion of the various ways in which Gnostics either accepted the normal patterns of worship, or added additional modes of worship (especially sacraments), or rejected conventional worship forms is found in Robert M. Grant, "Gnostic and Christian Worship", *After the New Testament* (Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 173-82. A more detailed discussion of Gnostic sacramentalism is that of Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1907), pp. 276-319. Strangely enough, Bousset omits mention of Gnostic groups which rejected either baptism, Eucharist or both sacraments.

² H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen, 1929), p. 176.

³ C.C. Richardson, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York, 1935), pp. 55, 79. Richardson thinks Smyrn. 7.1. indicates that the heretics abstained from the rite altogether, but he does suggest on the basis of Philad. 4.1 and Eph. 20.2 that they might have held a Eucharist of their own (p. 79). Robert M. Grant, *Ignatius of Antioch, The Apostolic Fathers, a Translation and Commentary*, Vol. IV (Camden, New Jersey, 1966), p. 119, states that Ignatius does not indicate whether or not the heretics held a separate rite of their own, but he does call the reader's attention to Smyrn. 8.1.

sacramental piety.¹ The following arguments underline the probability of this latter view.

(1) The reason which Ignatius gives for heretical abstention from the Eucharist and prayer² is not directed against the rite itself, but rather against the significance of that rite for Ignatius and the Smyrnaean congregation: "They abstain ... because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our savior Jesus Christ." For Ignatius and the majority of the congregation with its leadership, participation in the Eucharist was a confessional affirmation of the historicity and actuality of Jesus and his sufferings. The piety of Ignatius was such that his own sufferings, which were real, could only have religious significance for him if the sufferings of Jesus were equally real (Trall. 10.1; Smyrn. 4.2; 5.1). Ignatius could neither understand nor empathize with the piety of his docetic opponents which was markedly different from his own. The rite of the Eucharist was polyvalent (or at least bivalent) in the Smyrnaean congregation; it is only when one variety of sacramental piety is exclusively regarded as "correct" that division becomes both possible and necessary.³ While we have no clear idea of the nature of docetic sacramental piety, it is probable that they did espouse such a distinctive piety.

(2) The view that the Smyrnaean heretics did not reject the rite of the Eucharist itself but rather the significance attributed to it by Ignatius and the Smyrnaeans is borne out in a positive way by the immediate context of Smyrn. 7.1. In Smyrn. 8.1 we read,

Let no one do anything relating to the Church without the bishop. Let that be considered a valid Eucharist [*βεβαία εὐχαριστία*] which is celebrated by the bishop or by one he appoints ... It is not proper either to baptize or to hold an Agape without the bishop, but whatever he approves is also pleasing to God that everything you do might be certain and valid [*ἀσφαλές ἡ καὶ βέβαιον*].

¹ J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, Vol. II, Sect. 1: *S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp* (London, 1885), p. 305: "It would appear", says Lightfoot, commenting on Smyrn. 7.1, "that these heretics did not altogether abstain from this sacrament, but that they established a eucharist of their own apart from the church". Again, when Ignatius stresses the necessity of using only one Eucharist in Philad. 4.1, Lightfoot reiterates his conviction that these heretics had separated themselves from the churches and set up a Eucharistic celebration of their own (p. 257).

² This most probably refers to common prayer; see Grant, *Ignatius*, p. 119.

³ It was clearly Ignatius' opponents who separated themselves from public worship (cf. I Jn. 2.19, where a similar issue with similar results is treated); they were not forced to leave.

From the polemical tone of this passage, it is certainly legitimate to assume that certain matters relating to the church have been done without the bishop, and that these "matters" are most probably the cultic rites of baptism and the Eucharist, since the only matters mentioned in Smyrn. 8.1-2 are sacramental rites.¹ While someone other than the bishop may officiate at such rites, it is clear that Ignatius thinks that the one who presides must do so only with the knowledge and permission of the local bishop. When Smyrn. 7 and 8 are considered together, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that Ignatius' docetic opponents had abstained from the public celebration of the Eucharist and from common prayers in order to hold their own rites of baptism and Eucharist which were more in accord with their own distinctive brand of sacramental piety.²

(3) A number of reference in the Ignatian letters combine to indicate that, while the "heretics" were abstaining from certain phases of public worship, viz. baptism, Eucharist-Agape and prayer, they continued to regard themselves as part of the Christian congregation and participated in other church activities.³ These opponents apparently called themselves "Christians" (Eph. 7.1; Magn. 4.1), and recognized the bishop in what Ignatius considered a hypocritical way (Magn. 4.1; cf. 3.2). Similarly, when Ignatius exhorts Polycarp to "let nothing be done without your approval" (Polyc. 4.1), his statement implies a certain degree of control over those who would act in such a way.

(4) There are many indications in Ignatius that while the "heretics" abstained from aspects of public worship, they carried on their own private cultic rites of worship. In Smyrn. 9.1, another passage in the context of the *crux interpretum* Smyrn. 7.1, we find the statement: "He who honors the bishop has been honored by God; he who does anything without the knowledge of the bishop is serving the devil" (ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει). While Walter Bauer's suggestion that this passage reflects a gnostic anti-bishop goes far beyond the evidence,⁴ the passage does reflect the existence

¹ Apparently at this time the Eucharist had not been separated from the Agape; cf. Theodor Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gotha, 1873), p. 347.

² Zahn's suggestion that the celebration of the Eucharist in smaller groups was necessitated by the scattered condition of Asiatic Christians is improbable (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, p. 343).

³ Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven, 1960), p. 56.

⁴ Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. and trans. R.A. Kraft and G. Krodel, et.al. (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 69.

of an "underground church" with private cultic worship held, presumably, in protest against the theological significance attributed to public worship. The phrase *ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσειν* certainly refers only to the cultic rites which Ignatius so zealously reserves for the bishop. Variants of the phrase are found frequently in Ignatius with a pejorative connotation (Eph. 7.1; Magn. 4.1; 7.1; Trall. 2.2; 7.2; Smyrn. 8.1; Polyc. 4.1; cf. Eph. 8.2; Philad. 4.1). When these elliptical expressions are interpreted in the light of Smyrn. 8.1 ("Let no one do anything relating to the church without the bishop [*μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσειν τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* they must all be viewed as primarily referring to the sacramental practises of the Smyrnaean "underground church." A final phrase from Smyrn. 9.1, *τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει*, indicates that what is done "apart from the bishop" is the carrying on of what Ignatius regards as invalid worship practises.

(5) A final argument that Ignatius' opponents, rather than completely reject the sacraments, in fact held their own private cultic worship, is found in Ignatius' insistence on the validity of only *one* Eucharist, implying the multiple celebration of that central aspect of Christian worship. In Philad. 4.1 we read,

Be careful to use one Eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for unity with his blood, one altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow servants, that whatever you do you may do it according to God.¹

This emphasis on unity in worship, which certainly implies that the opposite state of affairs is possible, is reiterated by Ignatius in Magn. 7.1-2; Eph. 5.2-3; cf. Trall. 7.2; 6.1.

In conclusion, we can only say that Ignatius' docetic opponents did not reject the sacraments of baptism or Eucharist in themselves, but only the specific variety of sacramental piety insisted upon by Ignatius and the leadership of the various churches to which he addressed letters in Asia Minor. While it could certainly be said that, in the eyes of the "heretics" the "orthodox" misused the sacraments, that "misuse" is certainly not to be defined in terms of an over-emphasis on or quasi-magical valorization of the sacramental rites.

¹ At this point, Ignatius seems to be modeling his language after pseudo-Paul in Ephesians 5.5: "one Lord, one faith, one baptism", etc. This passage may imply, with regard to the phrase "one baptism", a diversity of baptismal practise which the unknown author wishes to combat or refute through his insistence in ecclesiastical unity.

2. Irenaeus *Adversus haereses* 1.21.4. In this passage. Irenaeus reports a gnostic group, unnamed, but presumably Marcosian Valentinians, which explicitly rejects all external rites performed with such material substances as water, oil, balsam, etc. In *Adv. haer.* 1.21, he attempts to catalog some of the many ways in which various Gnostics appropriate "redemption." In 1.21.1, he observes that "when we come to refute them, we shall show in its fitting place, that this class of men has been instituted by Satan to a denial of that baptism which is regeneration by God and thus to a renunciation of the whole faith." Apparently Irenaeus is not referring to the unnamed sect described in 1.21.4 (since he withholds his refutation until books 2 through 5), but rather to the fact that modifications which have made the original sacrament all but unrecognizable constitute its denial.¹ After discussing several innovations in the rite of baptism, Irenaeus states :

Others, however, reject all these practises [i.e., use of water and oil] and maintain that the mystery of the unspeakable and invisible power ought not be performed by visible and corruptible creatures, nor should that of those who are inconceivable and incorporeal and beyond the reach of sense, by those that are the objects of sense and possessing a body ... The redemption must therefore be of a spiritual nature, for they affirm that the inner and spiritual man is redeemed by means of knowledge, and that they, having acquired the knowledge of all, stand in need of nothing else.

Since western Gnosticism was undeniably influenced by Hellenistic philosophy,² it is probably correct to see in this Valentinian valorization of the spiritual world over against the material world with its attendant rejection of the external rites of Christianity, as R.M. Grant suggests, the influence of Platonic Idealism prior to its further development in the Neo-Platonic systems of Plotinus and Porphyry.³ It goes without saying that the rejection of sacramentalism by this sect was not prompted by a negative reaction to the "misuse" of the sacraments, but rather by a religious philosophy which rejected a

¹ In *Adv. haer.* 4.18.5, for example, Irenaeus suggests that those who deny the resurrection of the body ought either to change their opinions or to give up the Eucharist.

² Although Harnack's definition of Gnosticism as the "acute Hellenization of Christianity" is usually rejected out of hand, Harnack was not including in this definition the various oriental Gnostic sects; *History of Dogma*, trans. N. Buchanan (New York. (1961), I, 227.

³ Grant, "Gnostic and Christian Worship", pp. 181f., suggests analogies between the Gnostic rejection of conventional worship and the rejection of religious rites and rituals by such Neo-Platonists as Plotinus and Porphyry and also by the Hermetic writers.

priori any necessary or possible connection between material sacraments and spiritual redemption.

3. Tertullian *De baptismo*. Tertullian wrote this treatise on baptism in order to refute a Cainite woman, presumably living in Carthage, who advocated the rejection of the Christian sacrament of baptism (*De bapt.* 1). The apparent basis for this rejection was the presupposition that material substances could not procure salvific benefits (*De bapt.* 3). Tertullian states and attempts to refute *seriatim* the six objections which the woman and her sect had raised : (1) A mere material substance such as water cannot have an important role to play in salvation (*De bapt.* 3). (2) Many other religions, equally erroneously, attribute salvific efficacy to water (*De bapt.* 5). (3) Jesus himself did not baptize (*De bapt.* 11). (4) The apostles, excluding Paul, were unbaptized (*De bapt.* 11). (5) Baptism is unnecessary since faith alone is needed, e.g. Abraham (*De bapt.* 13). (6) Paul explicitly states that Christ did not send him to baptize (*De bapt.* 14).

Since the rejection of baptism by the Cainites is unknown from other sources, we may suppose that this emphasis is a local variation of characteristic Cainite doctrines. The presupposition underlying this rejection of Christian baptism, in any of its variations, is clearly the characteristic Gnostic metaphysical dualism with the consequent rejection of the notion (probably under the influence of popular Platonic Idealism) that material substances, such as the elements used in sacramental rites, can have no connection whatsoever with the redemption of spiritual entities. While there is a great deal of phenomenological similarity between this Cainite anti-sacramental stance and that of the unnamed but probably Marcosian Valentinian sect mentioned by Irenaeus, the latter author mentions no such sacramental rejection in his brief discussion of the Cainites in *Adv. haer.* 1.31. Here again it is evident that the rejection of the conventional and central Christian initiatory rite of baptism—as well as all of the bizarre variations produced by other Gnostic sects—is based on philosophical presuppositions, not on any supposed "misuse" or "over-emphasis" on ritualism and sacramentalism as magical or semi-magical means of appropriating salvation.

4. Origen *De oratione* 5.1. In this treatise on prayer, Origen mentions some heterodox Christians who, in addition to rejecting the practise of prayer,¹ had also abandoned the rites of baptism and Eucharist.

¹ While this *a priori* rejection of prayer includes both private and public prayer, that referred to by Ignatius (Smyrn. 7.1), is probably public prayer only (see above, p. 205, n. 2).

Origen notes that the basis for this rejection of the fundamental rites of Christian worship is the rejection of sense objects, which presumably have nothing to do with the salvation of the "inner man." It is possible, but not demonstrable, that Origen is referring to the teachings of the Gnostic Prodicus,¹ mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as one who rejected the practise of prayer (*Stromata* 7.41). While very little is known of Prodicus, Tertullian does associate him with Valentinus in *Scorpiace* 15 and *Adv. Prax.* 3. Clement pictures him as an antinomian who rejected sabbath observances (*Stromata* 3.4), and perhaps other external ceremonies and rites as well. Here, as in the case of the groups mentioned by Irenaeus and Tertullian, we have the rejection of all sacramental piety a priori, on the basis of philosophical presuppositions, most likely those of Neo-Platonism.²

5. Clementine Recognitions 6.8-9; Homilies 11.26.1. The similarity of these two passages indicates that they have both been derived from the *Grundschrift* (the so-called Kerygmata Petrou) which underlies these two documents. In the Recognitions, Clement is pictured as having exercised faith, but not as yet having received Christian baptism. The diatribe of "Peter" could possibly be interpreted as a polemic against those who accept the necessity of faith and of a life of Christian piety, but reject the rite of baptism as superfluous. In Homilies 11.26.1, Peter is made to say, "But perhaps someone will say, 'What does baptism with water contribute to godliness?'" (*ἀλλ' ἵσως ἐρεῖ τις. Τί συμβάλλεται πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὕδατι*). Since the basic *Grundschrift* undoubtedly contained many of the doctrines of two Jewish-Christian baptismal sects, the Ebionites and the Elkesaites, it is remotely possible that this passage reflects a non-sacramental posture espoused by one of these groups, ca. A.D. 250. The most probable interpretation of the passage, however, is that a gentile audience is presupposed.³ Their reluctance to be baptized

¹ Prodicus is referred to only by Tertullian *Scorpiace* 15; *Adv. Prax.* 3; Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.15; 7.7; 3.4; Theodoret *Haer. fab. comp.* 1.6.

² While the third century Neo-Platonists were consistent with Platonic Idealism in their disregard of religious ritual, Neo-Platonists from the later third century and on, such as Iamblichus, became enamored with magical practises of various kinds.

³ Georg Strecker, "On the Problem of Jewish Christianity", in Appendix 1 of W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, p. 262, n. 61. The absence of any discussion of the Jewish-Christian baptismal sects in the first edition of Bauer's book is lamented by Bultmann (*Gospel of John*, p. 471, n. 3), and rectified by Strecker in the second German edition of the book.

would therefore be analogous to the reluctance of gentile "god-fearers" to undergo circumcision and ritual washing demanded of proselytes to Judaism. The passage should therefore be interpreted as a baptism apologetic arising out of the Jewish-Christian mission to gentiles.

6. Epiphanius *Panarion* 40. In this section of his anti-heretical treatise, Epiphanius discusses the Gnostic sect called the "Archontics," similar in many ways to the Ophites. Founded by a hermit named Peter, the sect thrived in Palestine and especially Asia Minor during the reign of Constantius (A.D. 337-61), deriving their name from the Archons or evil rulers of each of the seven heavens. The seventh heaven itself was ruled by Sabaoth, the God of the Jews (whose son was the Devil), and it was the soteriological goal of the Archontics to reach the eighth heaven where the "Mother of Light" presided. According to Epiphanius, they studiously shunned ecclesiastical baptism (*φυγοῦσαν τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας*; *Panarion* 40.2), and even cursed the rite, although some of their number had previously been baptized themselves (*ἀναθεματίζουν τε τὸ λούτρον καὶ τε εἶεν τινες ἐν αὐτοῖς προειλημένοι καὶ βεβαπτισμένοι*; *Panarion* 40.2). While both J. Thomas and M. Werner mention the Archontics as examples of Christian sects which rejected baptism,¹ this judgment does not appear to be accurate. Epiphanius also notes that when members of the sect were at the point of death, they were anointed with a mixture of oil and water² to protect them from the Archons of the first seven heavens to insure their ultimate entrance into the eighth heaven (*Panarion* 40.3). Rather, therefore, than completely rejecting the rite of baptism, they radically modified the nature and use of the sacrament, transforming it into a kind of magical rite of extreme unction.³ Since other references to the Archontics fail to mention their rejection of baptism (Epiphanius *Panarion* 45.2; 78.3; *Anac.* 40; Theodoret *Haer., fab. comp.* 1.11; John of Damascus *Haer.* 40), this emphasis in Epiphanius may be more the result of his inferences than of anything else. The Archontics, then, rather than rejecting baptism on the basis of religio-philosophical presuppositions,

¹ Joseph Thomas, *Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C. - 300 ap. J.-C.)* (Gembloux, 1935), p. 398; Martin Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (Bern-Leipzig, 1941), p. 431.

² Note the common use of oil in Gnostic baptism (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 297-305).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294ff.

have radically transformed the rite in conformity with their own variety of baptismal piety.

7. Theodoret *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 1.10. Theodoret describes some of the views of a Gnostic sect called the Askodroutoi (or Askodroupittoi, or (T)askodrougitai; cf. John of Damascus *Haer.* 48), who claim that they do not need the sacraments (τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια), since they are merely symbols of invisible things, and true redemption is achieved through knowledge. Therefore they do not baptize their membership. It may be inferred from this brief notice, that, as in the case of the sects mentioned by Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen, the anti-ritualistic presuppositions of Platonic Idealism in its Neo-Platonic form made sacramentalism *a priori* irrelevant for their soteriological system.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This brief survey and discussion of instances of anti-sacramentalism in early Christianity has served to underline the fact that such a theological posture was remarkably rare in the broad early Christian movement; the only real examples of such a stance are found in the Marcosian Valentinians reported by Irenaeus, the Cainites reported by Tertullian, the unnamed sect mentioned by Origen and the Askodroutoi discussed by Theodoret. On the basis of these positive findings, and other negative ones, several criticisms of Bultmann's hypothesis of the anti-sacramental stance of the Fourth Evangelist may be advanced.

1. Although Bultmann espouses the view that the Fourth Evangelist had himself emerged from a Jewish-Christian baptismal sect strongly tinged with Gnosticism, there are (to my knowledge) no known instances of anti-sacramentalism among such sects, with the very remotely possible exception of Clementine Homilies 11.26.1 and Recognitions 6.8-9. Certainly the two major writers on the subject of Jewish baptismal sects and their influence on Christianity report no such examples.¹

¹ Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, reports no dissident "anti-sacramental" movements among Jewish-Christian baptismal sects, although he is certainly not primarily concerned with the influence of baptismal sects on Christianity. In an action entitled "Déviations du Baptême Chrétien", J. Thomas cites only the Archontics as reported by Epiphanius and Theodoret, and the Ascodruti reported by Theodoret as examples of the rejection of baptism.

2. Baptism and the Eucharist became such polyvalent rites that it was unnecessary for dissident Christian groups to reject them entirely. The normal procedure was to adopt a particular variety of sacramental piety appropriate to the religious beliefs of the group, or in consequence of that to modify in one way or another the basic character of the rite used by the majority of Christians in the Great Church.¹

3. There is no evidence whatsoever that any early Christian group either rejected or was critical of the sacraments because of their "misuse," or because of an "excessive value" attributed to them as means of appropriating the benefits of salvation. The total absence of any evidence regarding the criticism of sacramentalism in early Christianity makes it more than probable that the attribution of such a stance to the Fourth Evangelist is in reality the infusion of the values of a modern existentialist Lutheran rather than a historically valid interpretation of the thought of the Fourth Evangelist.

4. Those groups which rejected the use of the sacraments were not silent on the subject, as Bultmann supposes the Fourth Evangelist to be, but were aggressively vocal in their denial of the validity of the Christian rites.

5. To make the "word" the antithesis of "sacraments" is therefore to introduce an element into the thought of early Christians which is completely foreign to their way of thinking. The words of A.D. Nock are particularly appropriate here :

... we have all grown up with the category of sacraments as things of a specific kind; we are all aware of the centuries of controversy about their meaning and number. There was no such category in the first century of our era and even in the fifth century what we call sacraments were not set sharply apart from other aspects of the Christian revelation. Then, as in the first century, baptism and the Eucharist were part of the whole economy or dispensation of salvation; then, as in the first century, baptism had a public solemnity which it has largely lost; and in neither period was there any antithesis between the word of God and a sacrament or institution or ritual, or again between individual and institutional gifts of grace ... To isolate what we have come

¹ The first of what Georges Dumézil calls "two fundamental concepts in the study of religions" is that "in all religions, including the most highly developed, the faithful practitioners do not all practice their faith on the same level; on the contrary, a wide range of 'interpretations' can be shown in a single epoch or in a single society, often extending from pure automatism to the subtlest mysticism" (*Archaic Roman Religion*, trans. P. Krapp [Chicago and London, 1970], I pp. 20f.).

to think of as the sacraments is to misunderstand them and to misunderstand the whole early Christian movement.¹

While it cannot be said that Bultmann's theory of the anti-sacramental posture of the Fourth Evangelist is a theoretical impossibility, the absence of any clear polemic against sacramentalism within the Gospel together with the total absence of early Christian anti-sacramentalism motivated by reaction to the "misuse" or "over-emphasis" of the sacraments, makes his theory, in the opinion of the present writer, improbable in the extreme.

¹ A.D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (New York, 1964), p. 126.

CHRISTIANS AND IMPERIAL ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE EARLY FOURTH CENTURY

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This study is appropriately dedicated to my friend and colleague Allen Wikgren because it is largely based on the papyri, with which he has been engaged for many years, and because it attempts to relate Christian writers to the world in which they lived. At least by analogy, it has some contemporary "relevance", for the main theme is the price inflation which created severe difficulties for imperial policy in the early fourth century.

I. THE EMPERORS AND ECONOMIC POLICY

The whole third century was marked by what we now call "creeping inflation", along with fairly steady lightening of the weight of gold, silver, and copper currency.¹ Toward the end of the century the problem became especially critical. When Diocletian came to power in 284 he raised the weight of gold coins by 20%, and ten years later he introduced a new currency system with gold, silver, and three kinds of copper, probably worth 5 denarii, 2 denarii, and 1 denarius.² For the moment, stabilization seemed to have been achieved, although administrative and—especially—military expenses continued to burden the imperial administration and its subjects.

In the year 301³ the emperor published an edict in which he repeatedly denounced "avarice" and the wickedness of profiteers who multiplied prices by more than four and eight times, thus harming the soldiers who worked for the public welfare (and were paid in copper denarii). The edict contained a detailed list of maximum prices for goods and

¹ Cf. G. Mickwitz, "Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.", *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Comment. Human. Litt.* (Helsingfors, 1932); A.H.M. Jones in *Economic History Review* II 5 (1952-53), 293-318; S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (Stockholm, 1958); J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311* (Paris, 1969).

² Cf. C.H.V. Sutherland in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 51 (1961), 94-97.

³ The date is between November 20 (Diocletian IMP XVIII) and December 10 (Diocletian TR P XVIII until that date).

services, without any floor to impede "the blessing of low prices". Violation of the regulations was to be punished by death.¹

It has often been supposed that the edict was not effective and soon became a dead letter. Prices for wheat, however, do not confirm such a view. Originally set at 333 ¹⁻³ denarii per artaba (= 3¹⁻³ modii),² the price seems to have advanced to 562¹⁻² (or declined to 281¹⁻⁴) in December 303³ and declined (or rose) to 300 between May and August, 305.⁴ In 311 it was back at 333¹⁻³.⁵ Famine in 311-312 brought it up momentarily to 2500 per *metron* (*modiou*)—about 2308 per artaba⁶—and thereafter it fluctuated rather wildly, to 1500 in 312-313, to 2500 in 314, and to 750 in 315.⁷ The prices set by the edict thus remained in effect until the death of Galerius.

Other prices point in the same direction. Kidney beans, set at 333¹⁻³ denarii per artaba in Edict I 21, were valued at 225 in two papyri of the year 308 and at only 200 in another of the year 309 and another undated.⁸ The third-rate military tunics of Edict XXVI 30 were set at 1000 denarii, and the same price is quoted for the year 310-311.⁹ The price of chaff, set at a maximum of 1¹⁻² denarius per pound in Edict XVII 7, is quoted at the equivalent of 1¹⁻³ denarii in a papyrus of December 311.¹⁰ But since by this point the copper coinage of the east had lost 55% of its weight, the price in "constant denarii" had advanced no more than 20% in ten years.

¹ E.R. Graser in T. Frank, ed., *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* V (Baltimore, 1940), 307-421; add *L'année épigraphique* 1967, 455-456; *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* XXII (1967), 311; XXIII (1968), 282, 338.

² Edict I 1.

³ J.G. Tait-Claire Préaux, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* II (London, 1955), no. 2062. The price is given as 45 silver (denarii) per artaba of "special" (*diaphoros*) wheat; perhaps this was equivalent to 562¹⁻² denarii communes; cf. PSI VIII 965. On the other hand, the price may have been 45 silver drachmae, possibly equivalent to 1125 ordinary drachmae, or 281¹⁻⁴ ordinary denarii.

⁴ P. Oxy. XXXVI 2798.

⁵ P. Cair. Isid. 11,49-50.

⁶ *H.E.* IX 8,4; for the *metron* cf. E.H. Kase, Jr., *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 18.

⁷ P. Cair. Isid. 28; PER E. 2000, I, 16 = C. Wessely in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss., Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 149 (1905), V, 12; Kase, *op. cit.*, VII 6 (the roll is reprinted in F. Preisigke-F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (1915ff.; cited hereafter as *SB*), 7621).

⁸ P. Cair. Isid. 88 and 89 (308); P. Cair. Isid. 92 (309); PER E. 206 (undated); cf. A.C. Johnson-L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949), 176.

⁹ P. Clair. Isid. 54.

¹⁰ P. Cair. Isid. 10.

It is true that the prices of donkeys steadily advanced, but there is no indication that they had been set in the price edict. What they show is what might have happened to other prices in the absence of regulation. There were fluctuations up and down and, as one might expect, notable variations from one animal to another. A half-share in a female donkey cost 3750 denarii in 307, while a whole share brought the same price in 309.¹ In 311 a male donkey brought 16,000, and in 313-314 one donkey cost 19,500, another 40,500.²

The price of gold requires separate treatment.

16 Feb. 300	P. Beatty Panop. 2, 216	60,000 den.-lb.
Nov.-Dec. 301	Edict XXX 1	50,000 den.-lb.
6 Feb. 306	P. Oxy. XIV 1653	60 aurei (60,000 den.)-lb.
11 Aug. 307	PSI IV 310	100-120,000 den.-lb.
312	P. Ryl. VI 616	90,000 den.-lb.

The price of 50,000 as compared with 60,000 can be explained in relation to the point made by Bolin (*State and Currency*): the government was accustomed to making a profit of ¹⁻³ on copper coins, ¹⁻⁴ on silver, and ¹⁻⁵ on gold. The state would thus buy gold at 50,000 denarii per pound and issue gold coins at 60,000. Therefore the price of gold remained stable between 301 and 306, advancing sharply between February 306 and August 307.³ This advance can be explained very simply. Early in the year 307 Constantine debased the copper denarius; his co-emperors to the east soon followed his example. C.H.V. Sutherland has shown that the basic copper coins, originally about 10 grams in weight, were abruptly lightened to 6.5-6.25 grams at London, Trier, and Lyons. Maxentius immediately followed Constantine's example; Galerius and Maximin waited but also had to "devalue". A second debasement occurred in 310, once more led by Constantine; this time the weight declined to 5.0-4.0 grams.⁴

¹ SB 5679 (307); P. Cair. Isid. 86 (309).

² P. Oxy. XIV 1708 (311); P. Cair. Isid. 72-73 (313-314).

³ P. Iand. inv. 315 (K. Kalbfleisch in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 15, 1953, 104-5 = SB 9253) should be dated after 306-307, as should P. Oxy. XVII 2106; there is insufficient reason for accepting the date of 304 proposed by A. Segrè in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941), 114-15.

⁴ C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* VI (London, 1967), 100-2. Silver probably went from 4,000 denarii-lb. in 301—the price is lost from the fragments of the edict, but the gold-silver ratio was probably about 15-1—to 8328 in PSI IV 310 of 11 August 307. P. Iand. inv. 315 gives 8000. P. Antinoop. 38, of 13 April 301, refers not to silver but to copper; cf. R. Remondon in *Chronique d'Égypte* 32 (1957), 130-46;

We should therefore expect that the price of gold, if the gold coinage retained approximately the same weight, would advance in denarii approximately 50% between 306 and 307, and another 50% in 310-311. In other words, it would go up from 60,000 to 90,000 and then to 135,000. The price in 307 seems to be only slightly in excess of the expected figure. On the other hand, the figure for 312 seems too low. It may be pointed out, however, that in 309 Constantine reduced the weight of his gold coins from 5.3 grams to 4.5 grams, i.e. from 1.60 lb. to 1.72 lb. This action may have held the price of gold down by momentarily raising the value of the denarius.¹

Bolin was surely right in holding that the edict of 301 was issued in response to "a fall in the value of the denarius, whose purchasing power the edict was designed to protect".² He does not seem to have been right, however, when he stated that "immediately after Diocletian's abdication the price-curve rose steeply".³ Each year counts at this point, and we should claim that the return to rising prices began in 307, when Constantine reduced the weight of copper coins. J. Bingen has well shown how effective the edict continued to be in various areas; he rejects the notion that it was formally abrogated at least before the death of Galerius in 311.⁴

For a correct picture of prices during the period from 301 to 314 we must therefore reject the graph provided by Mickwitz⁵ and return to the more gradual curve drawn by Segrè,⁶ though with modifications due to changes in the value of copper. Of course there were ups and downs in the curve. One is clearly indicated by the undated P. Ryl. IV 607. "The divine fortune of our masters has given orders for the *nomisma* to be reduced to half an *nummus*. Make haste, therefore, to spend all the Italian *argyrion* you have". This Italian *argyrion* (silver) is obviously a coin with little silver content; otherwise it would have been melted down rather than exchanged for goods. Unfortunately

M. Manfredi in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan, 1966), 243-48; J. Bingen, *ibid.*, 371.

¹ It was not restored to 1000 to the aureus but brought up from 1500 to 1250.

² Bolin, *op. cit.*, 314-15.

³ *Ibid.*, 317.

⁴ *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale du Papirologia* (Milan, 1966), 369-78; cf. E. Schönbauer in *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 9-10 (1955-56), 53-95; Callu, *op. cit.* (note 1), 406-7.

⁵ Mickwitz, *op. cit.* (note 1), 114.

⁶ A. Segrè, *Circolazione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico ed in particolare in Egitto* (Rome, 1922), 66.

we cannot tell just what the coins were. The palaeographical dating in about 300 is not absolutely certain, and it may be that it comes from the reign of Licinius, as both Mickwitz and Jones held.¹

The most severe price inflation, therefore, occurred (1) because of actions taken by Constantine, (2) largely after the death of Galerius, and (3) especially during the reign of Constantine, first with Licinius and after 324 as sole ruler.

II. CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Three Christian apologists of the early fourth century comment on the economic circumstances of their time. The first of them, Arnobius, writes a fairly traditional defence of Christians against the charges that made them scapegoats for every kind of misfortune in the Roman world. He is not yet able to turn the charges back and blame emperors and imperial policy for economic disasters. This level of debate will be reached in the *Church History* of Eusebius, especially in Books VIII and IX, first written in 312-315 and later revised,² and also in the treatise of Lactantius *On the deaths of persecutors*, composed between 318 and 321.³

Arnobius certainly wrote his treatise *Against the nations* or *Against the gentiles* after the end of February, 303, when the emperors gave orders for the Christian scriptures to be burned and for the Christian churches to be destroyed.⁴ On the other hand, he did not write much later, for he speaks of Christians as having existed (probably since the birth of Christ) for about three hundred years.⁵ He explicitly cites the pagan charge that because Christians exist, "poverty of agricultural produce and scarcity of grain have a more relentless grip on us".⁶

¹ Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, 104; Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 439. PSI VIII 965 and P. Osl. III 83 refer to coins reduced from 25 to 12¹/₂ Attic drachmas (= denarii), but the former is not dated and the latter seems to refer to an official of Aegyptus Herculia or Herculiana, a province not created before 314 (cf. C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, Collection Latomus LV, Brussels, 1962, 98). SB 5679 (307) is irrelevant.

² Cf. J. Moreau in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* VI (1966), 1072; he under-values the study by R. Laqueur, *Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929).

³ J. Moreau, *Lactance De la mort des persécuteurs* (Paris, 1954), I, 34-37.

⁴ *Adv. nat.* IV 36 (*CSEL* IV 171); cf. Lactantius, *De mort. persec.* 12,2-5; Eusebius, *H.E.* VIII 2,4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I 3 (*CSEL* IV 6); 305 years in Eusebius, *H.E.* VII 32, 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I 13 (*CSEL* IV 11).

This is the basic accusation which he tries to answer in his statements about economic history. His first reply is given immediately after his report of the charge : there have been many like situations in the past. To this he adds a second reply when he refers to the 300-year period. "Has there been no time at all when things have been cheap and abundant?" The implicit, and correct, answer is that many such periods existed, and indeed especially in the past because of the almost incessant depreciation of the currency. His third reply is more sophisticated. In the past there have been many periods of "low prices and abundance of commodities", with the result that "all business undertakings (*commercia*) were paralyzed by the low price level".¹ African and Numidian grain and oil were exported to Rome, and Arnobius rightly perceived that rising prices did no harm to producers.² He points out that rising grain prices have made not only pagans but also Christians better off and, indeed, very rich.³ He makes no mention of the edict of 301. Presumably his friends were content with the prices permitted in it, though they naturally criticized the assumptions on which it was based.

When Eusebius discusses economic questions he does so in Books VIII and IX of the *Church History*, especially in sections contrasting the prosperity before the fourth-century persecutions with the subsequent (and consequent) poverty. He has no concern for the economic problems of the late third century. During the years of peace from 261 to 303 the churches were thronged with Christians and had to be rebuilt from the foundations; this is all that matters.⁴ Indeed, he can say of this period that "no words could sufficiently describe how bountiful and plenteous was its [the empire's] harvest of good things, when also those who held the supreme places in a world-empire completed the decennalia and vicennalia of their principate and used to pass their days in festivals and public games ...".⁵ In order to make this astounding statement, Eusebius has to neglect the fact, already stated

¹ *Ibid.*, I 14 (*CSEL* IV 11).

² George McCracken errs when he says that Arnobius "adopts the point of view of a consumer, not that of a producer" (*Arnobius of Sicca*, Westminster, Md., 1949, I, 275 n. 71).

³ *Adv. nat.* I 16 (*CSEL* IV 112). Presumably not all Christians became rich, and subsequent class tensions may have played a part in the Donatist controversy. Toward the beginning, however, a rich woman gave the Donatists 400 folles (*Gesta apud Zenophilum*; *CSEL* XXVI 189); her gift was worth 50,000 denarii or 200,000 drachmae.

⁴ *Hist. eccl.* VIII 8,5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII 13,9 (transl. Oulton).

in the *Church History*, that the persecution began in the nineteenth, not the twentieth, year of Diocletian.¹ He may be following a Roman secular source, as Laqueur believed. Perhaps he has Constantine's decennalia in mind, or even his vicennalia. In any event, he claims that famine and other problems arose only under the "tyrants"—i.e., opponents of Constantine and Licinius—Maxentius and Maximin. The famine under Maxentius, in Eusebius' view due to his efforts to "enslave his subjects", was characterized by "such extreme scarcity and lack of even necessary food as has never been known, according to our contemporaries, either at Rome or elsewhere".² The "contemporaries", perhaps not the most reliable of informants, were doubtless as devoted to Constantine as Eusebius himself was. There is no reason to take their hyperbole literally, any more than the statement about the famine made by a panegyrist of 313 who was celebrating Maxentius' defeat.³

Indeed, it has often been pointed out that Eusebius' whole attack on Maxentius' memory is misguided (except as pro-Constantinian propaganda), since this emperor, at least until he came into conflict with Constantine, actually tolerated or even favored Christianity.⁴ Eusebius' picture of the economic situation during his brief reign is not likely to be reliable.

When he turns to Maximin his picture is even more highly distorted. First he speaks of Maximin's attempt to revive paganism; then he speaks of the oppressiveness of his reign, obviously implying that the latter was due to the former. Maximin oppressed all his provinces "by exactions of gold and silver and unspeakably large quantities of goods, and by the heaviest assessments and varied fines".⁵ Eusebius obviously does not know, or does not care to know, that the government's financial crisis began well before the "pagan revival", and that exactions of gold are noted as early as 306.⁶ His essentially conservative bias is reflected in the statement that Maximin took away "from the

¹ *Ibid.*, VIII 2,4; cf. *Mart. Pal.* praef. 1;2,4.

² *Ibid.*, VIII 14, 6.

³ *Paneg. lat.* IX 4.

⁴ F. Görres in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33 (1890), 206-9; cf. D. De Decker in *Byzantion* 38 (1968), 472-562.

⁵ *H.E.* VIII 14, 8-10.

⁶ P. Oxy. XIV 1653 (306); other references in A.H. M. Jones. *History of the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 1180 n. 55.

rich the possessions they had received from their ancestors".¹ It is true that taxes were very high, but the Christian apologist ascribes to malice what has actually the consequence of administrative problems not solved by Maximin's Christian successors.

In his more specific discussion of Maximin's reign (Book IX), Eusebius presents a false picture by offering the sequence religious revival—petitions of cities against Christians—famine and plague.² This sequence is wrong. The rescript of Maximin to the cities, partly quoted in IX 7, clearly shows that famine preceded their petitions, while Eusebius' picture of a dry winter in 312-313 is contradicted by what Lactantius tells us of heavy downpours early in 313.³ The true sequence was therefore famine—petitions, and Eusebius' rather confused chronology can be straightened out if in fact the petitions were part of the religious revival.

We have already referred to the price of wheat under famine conditions: a *metron* of wheat went for 2500 denarii. What Eusebius could not know was that toward the end of Constantine's reign the smaller artaba would bring 21,000 denarii, while in 338 the price would reach 36,000.⁴ Of course he was unaware that his imperial friend had taken the lead in debasing the denarius in 307.

The third Christian writer to deal with the problems of price inflation and taxation was Lactantius, who composed his treatise *De mortibus persecutorum* while tutor to Constantine's son Crispus. He has nothing good to say about the administration of Diocletian, and he turns the charge of avarice, often bandied about in the edict on maximum prices, back against the emperor himself.⁵ Because military and civilian officials were multiplied under the tetrarchy, Lactantius claims, the number of those who received tax money was greater than the number of those who paid taxes. Because of avarice the emperor never wanted to spend money but simply kept it in his treasury, although at the same time he had a "limitless lust for building".⁶ He himself was responsible for the high prices which he tried to check by his edict.

¹ *H.E.* VIII 14,10; cf. *Paneg. lat.* X 8, for a similar complaint against Maxentius.

² *Ibid.*, IX 2-4; 7; 8.

³ *De mort. Persec.* 45, 2-3. A failure of the autumnal rains of 312 could not have caused a famine; cf. H.J. Lawlor-J.E.L. Oulton, *Eusebius* (London, 1928), II, 297. On rainfall in Syria cf. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), 365.

⁴ P. Lond. inv. 1914,51 (H.I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London, 1924, p. 60); P. Oxy. I 85, col. III (= P. Lond. 760).

⁵ *De mort. persec.* 7, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7, 3-5. 8-9.

It had no effect except in producing bloodshed; finally it became a dead letter.¹ These statements suggest that Diocletian's policy was thoroughly inconsistent. More probably, the statements themselves are inconsistent, just because Lactantius was using any stick he could find to beat the dead emperor.

Under Galerius, he says, the situation was no better, for he took a census and in consequence families were split up as one member informed against another. He laid taxes on both property and persons, in towns as well as in the countryside.² When census-takers were ordered to list the Roman urban populace, Galerius' colleague Severus was overthrown and replaced by Maxentius.³ But Lactantius cannot possibly praise Maxentius; he was to be Constantine's foe.

It is fairly clear that Lactantius knew more about the economic facts of the tetrarchy than Eusebius did. His analysis of them, however, was quite unsound. He blamed the economic crisis on Diocletian's avarice, not on his inability to handle an economic problem he did not understand. On the other hand, Diocletian's own insistence upon the avarice of others, and his efforts to justify his edict by jawboning, do justify Lactantius' counter-attack. As Galerius approached his vicennalia, says Lactantius, he began to extort gold and silver from the provinces.⁴ Here again official propaganda is responsible for the suggestion that the vicennalia caused the demand for precious metals.⁵ The true cause of scarcity, not known to Lactantius and perhaps not to Galerius, was probably the emperor's belief that gold and silver could be kept in the treasury while copper steadily declined in weight and value.

III. MAXIMIN AND CHRISTIAN MINERS

Eusebius clearly shows that Maximin sent Christians to work in copper mines, and we may well wonder whether this action was not related to his need for copper for currency. As Rostovtzeff argued, "the great problem, in the mining industry no less than in agriculture, was not the lack of material, but the lack of workers; not shortage of

¹ *Ibid.*, 7, 6-7.

² *Ibid.*, 23, 1-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 26, 2-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 31, 1-2.

⁵ Perhaps P. Oxy. XVII 2106 (see note 16 above) should be dated in relation to this event.

metalla, but of *metallarii*”.¹ P. Flor. 3 (July-August 301) shows that labor in the alabaster quarries was forced, and an undated but contemporary papyrus from Hermopolis lists workers being sent to the *metalla* near Maximianopolis.² During the years 308-311, while Maximin was trying to maintain the weight of his copper coins in the face of Constantine’s debasements, Christians were diverted from the porphyry quarries in Egypt and sent to Phaeno in Palestine to mine copper.³ Eusebius states that prisoners were released from stone quarries in the Thebaid during a “lull” in 309-310; he does not suggest that miners were released at Phaeno.⁴ Late in 310 “the superintendent of the mines” split up the potentially dangerous group of Christians at Phaeno, but since he sent some of them to Cyprus he was evidently determined to maintain copper production.⁵ In May 311, forty Christians were executed near Phaeno, but they were unable to work because of physical disabilities.⁶ Within a short time Maximin reduced the weight of his copper coins once more.

The church historian explicitly says that Christians were condemned to work in various copper mines—after 308—“not so much for service as for ill-usage and hardship”.⁷ In view of the economic facts, and of Eusebius’ all-pervasive apologetic purpose, we venture to claim that the services of the miners were important in relation to Maximin’s monetary problems. The blinding and maiming of Christian miners in 308-311, unprecedented according to Mommsen,⁸ may have been effected in order to impede their possible escape.

¹ *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (ed. 2, Oxford, 1957), 343.

² Wilcken, *Chrest.* 391; C. Wessely in *Patrologia Orientalis* IV 132-33.

³ Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* 7, 2-4; 8, 1. The martyr Aedesius is described as (a) suffering soon after 2 April 306 (*Mart. Pal.* 4, 15; 5, 2), (b) dealing with Hierocles, prefect of Egypt (5, 3, longer version), and (c) having worked earlier in the mines (5, 2). Hierocles was prefect after August 308 (H.C. Youtie in *Chronique d’Égypte* 28, 1953, 148-53; P. Cair. Isid. 69; P. Oxy. XXXIII 2668) and before 17 August 312 (P. Flor. 36 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 64).

⁴ *Mart. Pal.* 9, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 13, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13, 4. 10.

⁷ *H.E.* VIII 12, 10. On condemnation to the mines in general cf. J.G. Davies in *Historical Journal* (Birmingham) 6 (1958), 99-107.

⁸ T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899, repr. Graz, 1955). 981-82.

IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

The purpose of this paper has not been to claim that economic factors were all-important in the persecution of Christians during the early decades of the fourth century. It has been simply to suggest that such factors, along with related social-historical matters, deserve more adequate treatment in the study of the life of the early church. It is not enough to examine the dicta of various early theologians as if they had been expressed in a vacuum or had been intended to convey timeless truths. In working toward a more adequate understanding of early Christianity, we shall find that economic and social history has an important contribution to make.

IV. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

THE CONCEPT OF THE SO-CALLED "DIVINE MAN" IN MARK'S CHRISTOLOGY

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According to Rudolf Bultmann, the formation of Christology in the early Church was strongly influenced by two concepts of the Hellenistic world: (1) the myth of the "Gnostic Redeemer" that helped to explain the existential meaning of Christ's death and resurrection,¹ and (2) the concept of the "Divine Man" (*θεῖος ἀνὴρ*) that inspired Mark, and to some extent John, to write the story of God's son walking on earth.² The "Gnostic Redeemer" played an important role in New Testament exegesis during the 1940's and '50's; today he has practically disappeared. Since the myth of a *salvator salvandus*, believed to be the focal point of all Gnostic systems, cannot be found in any pre-Christian text; neither does it appear in the newly discovered Nag Hammadi writings of a highly developed Christian Gnosticism,³ it is highly questionable to presuppose the Gnostic Redeemer myth for New Testament Christology and its teaching of the Church. The "Divine Man" has not yet suffered the fate of his companion. On the contrary, after the fall of the "Gnostic Redeemer" he is flourishing in New Testament exegesis more than ever before.⁴ With Rilke, one may say that he lives his life in growing circles, covering more and more things. While the meta-historical and heavenly figure of the "Gnostic Redeemer" was applied to the Christ of the Kerygma, the so-called "Divine Man" is realized in historical persons and, therefore, related to the earthly Jesus. With regard to Mark's Gospel, Ernst Käsemann holds that the evangelist has painted Jesus throughout in the colors

¹ *Theology of the New Testament*, I (New York, 1951), 164 ff.

² *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen, 1957), p. 256.

³ There is no uniform concept of the fall and salvation in these writings. According to the "Exegesis on the Soul" (Codex II, cols. 127.18-137.28), the soul acts independently from the fall and salvation of a cosmic being.

⁴ He could even become the direct successor of the "Gnostic Redeemer". J. Schreiber had first discovered the "Gnostic Redeemer" in the Gospel of Mark ("Die Christologie des Markusevangeliums", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 58 (1961), 154-83); in his later work *Theologie des Vertrauens* (Hamburg, 1967), this savior is replaced by the "Divine Man".

of the Hellenistic "Divine Man".¹ According to Dieter Georgi, Mark's Son of God reveals his divine power in miraculous deeds so that salvation occurs in the present, This is quite different from the Palestinian Q-Source, which is oriented toward the future; in it, Jesus acts as the messenger of the coming Kingdom.²

More recently, American studies in Mark have taken a new turn. L.E. Keck,³ T.E. Weeden,⁴ H.D. Betz,⁵ and M. Smith⁶ have rejected the idea that Mark himself introduced the *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* Christology into his Gospel, for it had already been embodied in the material of his tradition. On the contrary, Mark has corrected and counteracted that Christology of glory by his own presentation of the suffering Christ; thus the rather primitive and naive Divine Man Christology underwent a total transformation.⁷ The assumption of two opposing Christologies in Mark helps to solve two difficult problems of this Gospel: (1) the meaning of the messianic secret in Mark, and (2) the history of the pre-Markan tradition. With the theory of the messianic secret, Mark had to bridge the gap between the Divine Man Jesus of his tradition and his own suffering Christ. The question of how much material in Mark must be attributed to the Divine Man tradition, is answered by these American scholars in a different way. M. Smith thinks of a collection of miracle stories, perhaps beginning with the legend of Jesus' baptism and ending with his transfiguration.⁸ H.D. Betz presents an extended list of miracle stories and personal legends in Mark and in the other gospels.⁹ More caution is shown by L.E. Keck, who claims to have discovered an older stratum in the summary of Mark 3.7-12; in his view, it belongs to a cycle of miracle stories showing Jesus

¹ *Essays on New Testament Themes*, trans. W.J. Montague (London, 1964), p. 96 (German, p. 215).

² *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (Neukirchen, 1964). p. 214f.

³ "Mark 3.7-12 and Mark's Christology", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 84 (1965), 341-58.

⁴ "The Heresy that Necessitated Mark's Gospel", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 59 (1968), 145-58. Now see T.E. Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia, 1971). The following references to Weeden refer only to the above-mentioned article.

⁵ "Jesus as Divine Man", *Jesus and the Historian. Written in Honor of E.C. Colwell*, ed. T.F. Trotter (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 114-33.

⁶ "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 90 (1971), 174-99.

⁷ H.D. Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 117-20.

as Divine Man (Mk. 4.35-5.43; 6.31-52, 53-56). Another area of Divine Man influence in Mark is claimed by T.E. Weeden. According to him, Mark has painted the disciples of Jesus as adherents of the Divine Man Christology that prevented them from understanding the true intention of Christ. This was Mark's answer to a serious christological controversy in his own community.

I. THE DIVINE MAN IN HELLENISM

I must confess that I hesitate to follow the "Divine Man" on his glorious way into the New Testament. I want first to make some general remarks on the "concept" as such. The scholars mentioned above take it for granted that the Hellenistic Divine Man is a scientifically well-established fact. They usually refer to books such as G. Wetter, *Der Sohn Gottes* (1916), and especially to L. Bieler, *Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος* (1935-36). Wetter's work has helped to create the belief that "Son of God" was a title of the Divine Man.¹ But such an assumption cannot be verified from the Greek texts. Even the popular legends in which philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato or Apollonius of Tyana are said to have been begotten by a god never call their heroes a "Son of God".² Therefore, Mark must have received this title from another tradition. It is reasonable to assume that the early christological creed, quoted in Rom. 1.3f. and elaborated in Acts 2 and 13 has suggested the titles "Son of David" and "Son of God" to Mark and the other evangelists. This early creed has nothing to do with the "Divine Man", for it is based upon the oracle in II Sam. 7 that had similarly been related to the messiah at Qumran.³ L. Bieler discovered the concept of *Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος* in a great wealth of literature and in various figures such as seers and statesmen, prophets and philosophers, Buddhist monks and medieval nuns. One is deeply impressed by the great knowledge of the author and strongly reminded of the works of R. Reitzenstein. But M. Smith, who is much in favor of the Hellenistic Divine Man, rightly remarks that Bieler's book is somewhat

¹ Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "Son of God is a title for the Divine Man"; L.E. Keek, *op. cit.*, p. 351, n. 63: "When one reads Bieneck's contention that the synoptics contain no miracle stories that are related to the hellenistic Son of God (*Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος*) material, he can only blink".

² W. von Martitz, "ἰδιός", *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, VIII, 338-40.

³ See my little book *What Do We Know About Jesus?* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 93-112.

careless, the choice of sources questionable and the references sometimes false.¹

I think we have to go further and raise the question whether there really existed the concept of such a Divine Man, whether one can speak of him as a generally known "type" composed of distinguishable features. Are we allowed to assume a Divine Man type whenever we find one or two of his alleged features in a text? Is *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* really a title? In Hellenistic writings, the adjective *Θεῖος* is used quite frequently. In classical Greek it can designate the proper attitude toward the divine laws.² In Hellenism, the virtues of man are considered to be divine gifts;³ even the word "god" can sometimes be applied to an outstanding man in a rather generous way.⁴ But the term *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* is quite rare, and the same holds true for *Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος*, used by R. Bultmann whenever he refers to Bieler's book *Θεῖος Ἀνὴρ*. H.D. Betz holds that the writings of Lucian of Samosata contain a great wealth of *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* material, but he has to admit that there is no firm title for this concept.⁵ Therefore, I wonder whether we should speak of a Hellenistic "Divine Man" while being aware of the fact that the Hellenists themselves used this term on very rare occasions only.⁶ They knew many *Θεῖοι*, but they did not develop a concept and type *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*; the same holds true for Philo and Josephus who are said to be the main witnesses for the concept of the Divine Man in Hellenistic Judaism. There is indeed a strong tendency in Philo and Josephus to interpret the great heroes of the Bible in a glorifying way; the "Men of God" such as Moses, Elijah and Elisha appear as manifestations of the Divine. But is this tendency due to a Hellenistic concept of the Divine Man? The Septuagint did not render the Hebrew term *אֱלֹהִים* by *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*. They probably would

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

² von Martitz, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

³ Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* 8.7.

⁴ The Indian saints met by Apollonius of Tyana claim to be gods because they are virtuous men (Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* 3.18). Lucian of Samosata says that the Christians worshipped their fellow Christian Peregrinus as god (*Peregrinus* 11).

⁵ *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1961), p. 102: "Er ist terminologisch nicht fest umrissen". There is a great wealth of adjectives describing the divine qualities of outstanding men.

⁶ I have found *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* in Plato *Leg.* 642D (for Epimenides); *Pol.* I 331E (for the poet Simonides; *σοφὸς καὶ Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*; *Menon* 99D (plural, for good men); Josephus *Ant.* 3.180 (for Moses, cf. *Ant.* 10.35); Lucian *Cyn.* (for Heracles; *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Θεός*), Philo *Virtut.* 177; Plato *Ep.* 311D (plural).

have done this if *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* actually was a common designation for a concept well known in the Hellenistic world. And why has Paul avoided this term if his opponents in II Corinthians claimed to be *Θεῖοι ἄνδρες*? In almost every religion, persons possessing divine gifts, such as prophets and saints, can be found. In Judaism the *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* can be compared with the ideal of the Zaddik.¹ While it would be silly to deny the fact that the Jews dispersed in the Roman empire and even those living in Palestine were part of the Hellenistic culture,² it is also true that the religion of the Hebrews was not immersed in the melting pot of Hellenistic syncretism, in spite of some borrowings from the surrounding world. Jewish apocalypticism, the writings of Qumran and the literature of the rabbis are essentially different from both Greek philosophy and Hellenistic religions. The major difference is that the former were built upon the foundation of the Scriptures. To some extent this is also true of the New Testament. According to L. Baeck, the New Testament is a Jewish book because it breathes the clean air of the Sacred Scriptures.³ The miracles of the Old Testament "Man of God,, were closer to the mind of the New Testament writers than those of Apollonius of Tyana, whose reputation in the apostolic age was quite different from that which he won a hundred years later through the work of Philostratus.⁴

The vagueness of the Divine Man concept accounts for opposing and inaccurate statements of scholars who use it. H.D. Betz holds that faith as trust in the divine qualities of the Divine Man plays an important role in the Markan miracles;⁵ according to L.E. Keck the opposite is true.⁶ T.J. Weeden attributes to the Divine Man concept the ambitious striving for an honored position in the Kingdom;⁷ D. Georgi's opponents of Paul are proud and powerful representatives of the Divine, but, according to L. Bieler, humility and gentleness are typical qualities of the *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*.⁸ Besides that, divine power (*δύναμις, ἐξουσία*) is said to be fundamental for the *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*, but this common assump-

¹ R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (Leiden, 1957).

² See M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Tübingen, 1969).

³ *Paulus, die Pharisäer und das Neue Testament* (Frankfurt am Main, 1961), p. 162.

⁴ See M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* 2nd ed. (München, 1961), II, 419f., n. 7, 424, 440.

⁵ H.D. Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁶ Keck, *op. cit.*, pp. 350, 351.

⁷ Weeden, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁸ Bieler, *Θεῖος Ἀνὴρ* (Wien, 1935-36), p. 56f.

tion rests mainly upon New Testament material referring to Jesus and his disciples ¹ (in such passages *δύναμις* and *ἐξουσία* are equivalents to the Hebrew terms *גְּבוּרָה* and *רְשׁוּת*).

Finally, is there a Hellenistic text proving the fact that "a revered divine man became existentially manifested in the *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* activity of his future followers"? ² As long as Georgi's *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ* Christ and the Divine Men of II Corinthians are the only examples of such a judgment, I cannot see why I should accept it. There is the danger of a methodological circle: New Testament passages are used for building up a concept that is claimed to be the foundation of these passages. I cannot understand why in this case we should be in need of a Hellenistic concept when the Old Testament already tells us that God's spirit made the disciples of Moses or Elijah of equal standing with their masters, and Paul had understood the Holy Spirit to be the *Christus praesens*. In addition, one need only remember the Hebrew law of the messenger who is like the person who has sent him (Berakoth 5.5). This means that the messenger receives the *רְשׁוּת*, the authority of acting on behalf of the sender.

II. THE DIVINE MAN MATERIAL IN MARK

L.E. Keck holds that the miracles of the Divine Man material in Mark are relatively unrelated to the message of Jesus, to the Galilean scene of his first appearance, and to the power struggle against the leaders of Judaism as described in the first three chapters of Mark. ³ I doubt whether this is correct. One may even say that the battle of Jesus against the forces of evil reaches a kind of climax in the first two miracles of Keck's Divine Man cycle. These are the miracles of Jesus' stilling the storm (Mk. 4.35-41) and of his healing the demoniac near Gerasa (Mk. 5.1-20). In my view, they both are theological stories, created in the Palestinian Church. They were added to the parables of the Kingdom in Mark 4 because they disclose the relevance of the person and the work of Christ through whom the Kingdom is in the process of being realized (cf. Mt. 12.28). Therefore, there is a close relationship between the first section of Mark and the material in chapters 5 and 6.

¹ Bieler, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-83.

² Weeden, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³ Keck, *op. cit.*, pp. 350, 352. Similarly, H.D. Betz thinks that in these materials man in general is not under the dominion of Satan (*op. cit.*, p. 120).

1. Mark 4.35-41. Even R. Bultmann admits that this miracle has its closest parallel in a rabbinical story and most probably originated in the Palestinian Church.¹ In this rabbinical story of a Jewish boy who saved a vessel full of gentiles from destruction by a storm,² the influence of the Biblical tale of Jonah can be clearly seen; the same holds true for the dramatic circumstances of Jesus' stilling the storm.³ But the theological lesson of Mk. 4.35-41 is contained in the words of Jesus, especially in the two commandments in vv. 35 and 39. The latter verse is the climax of the miracle; Jesus rebuked (*ἐπετίμησεν*) the wind and commanded the sea to be silent (*πεφίμωσο*). With the same verbs, the demon in the man of Capernaum was made obedient and forced to come out (Mk. 1.25). That shows that Jesus' action of stilling the storm was not meant to be a "nature miracle",⁴ for wind and sea were understood as demonic forces and as the agents of chaos that threatened the people of God with destruction. The best parallel to this story is offered in the Qumran hymn 6.22-25.⁵ The disciples represent the new Israel, and Jesus' victory over storm and sea points to his final victory over Satan and death. This becomes fully evident through the first commandment of Jesus in v. 35, directed to the disciples: "Let us go across to the other side!" The "going-across" motif appears in all the stories of Jesus' stilling the storm,⁶ and discloses their main theological goal. For it alludes to the classical event of God's people going across the sea, i.e. to the miraculous salvation of Israel at the Red Sea (Ex. 14). The commandment of Jesus to the disciples in Mk. 4.35 corresponds to God's order to Moses in Ex. 14. 15. In both stories, the crossing and the miraculous salvation happens during the night (cf. Ex. 14.20), and the response of the disciples to

¹ *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, pp. 249,255.

² Talmud Yerushalmi 9.113b.

³ Compare the description of the storm in Mk. 4.37 with Jonah 1.4; the episode of Jesus' sleeping in the boat in Mk. 4.38 with Jonah 1.5; the calming of the storm in Mk. 4.39 with Jonah 1.12; the reaction of the disciples in Mk. 4.41 with Jonah 1.16.

⁴ Bultmann, *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, pp. 249ff.; H.D. Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁵ This hymn describes man's lostness in the world ruled by Satan and his salvation through entering the community of God. The author compares himself with a sailor lost in a great storm (*ruah 'iw'eyym*, line 23 = *λαίλαψ ἀνέμου*, Mk. 4.37); there was no calm *dēmāmāh*, line 23 = *γαλήνη*, Mk. 4.39); his soul came close to the Gates of Death (line 24); cf. 1QH 3.19: "Thou hast redeemed my soul from the Pit, and from the Sheol of perdition".

⁶ Mk. 4.35; Mt. 8.18; Lk. 8.32; Mk. 6.45; Mt. 14.22; Jn. 6.16.

the epiphany of Jesus (Mk. 4.41) is quite similar to that of Israel at the Red Sea (Ex. 14.31). When seen over against this Old Testament background, the strange remark in Mk. 4.36 makes sense: "And other boats were with him".¹ For these boats indicate the wider horizon of the story in which Jesus is depicted as the eschatological savior, chosen to redeem the people of God from the power of sin and destruction (cf. Mt. 1.21). The mythological aspect and the eschatological significance of the miracle in Mk. 4.35-41 are in the line of interpretation that had been given to the Red Sea event in the Old Testament already. For the defeat of the Egyptians and the salvation of Israel were sometimes proclaimed as God's victory over the power of chaos: He rebuked the Sea (רָצַף = ἐπετίμησεν), he cut Rahab, the chaos monster, in pieces in order to make the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over (Isa. 51.9f.). Through such a mythical interpretation the Red Sea event became imbued with cosmic and eschatological significance. It strengthened faith in God's continuing care for his creation and in his power of saving Israel from political oppression. Second Isaiah understood the miracle of the Red Sea as the outstanding example of the "former things", i.e., of God's saving deeds of old (Isa. 43.16-18), and as a shadow of the "new things" through which God would finally redeem his people in the near future (Isa. 43.19f.). Similarly, in Qumran the victory of Pharaoh at the Red Sea served as a fundamental example for God's mighty acts through which he will bring about the decision in the final war against the forces of evil (1 QM 11.10).

The miracle of crossing over to the other side did not remain always in the lofty sphere of myth and faith in God's final salvation. It was sometimes re-enacted in the history of Israel by a prophet like Moses (cf. Deut. 18.15-19). Joshua is told of having parted the Jordan so that Israel might pass over on dry ground (Josh. 3.14-17); Elijah and Elisha did the same for themselves (II Kgs. 2.8, 13). In the time of Jesus, Theudas promised the people that he would split the Jordan river through his commandment (προστάγματι) and provide a way for passing over (Josephus *Ant.* 20.97). He wanted to give a "sign of salvation" (δημῶν ἐλευθερίας, *Bell.* 2.258-260) in order to prove that the living God is among his people and that he will drive out their enemies from before them (cf. Josh. 3.10). The "sign from heaven"

¹ It is, therefore, not redactional nor the obscure remainder of an earlier tradition as Bultmann believes (*Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, p. 230).

that the Pharisees had demanded from Jesus (Mk. 8.11) must have been a "sign of liberation" corresponding to the spectacular deeds of God in Israel's history. For a prophet and messianic pretender there was no other way of demonstrating the presence of the living God and the legitimacy of his mission. As the so-called Divine Man, such a prophet had to disclose his divine power in an objective, direct way. The miracle of Jesus' stilling the storm is a "sign of liberation" insofar as it alludes to the miracle of Israel's salvation at the Red Sea. But it had no demonstrative character. Before it happened, the boats of the people had disappeared, and the small group of witnessing disciples did not understand the real meaning of this sign.

2. The Gerasene Demoniac (Mark 5.1-20). The meaning of this miracle that follows the stilling of the storm is even more obscure. R. Bultmann adopted J. Wellhausen's idea that the motif of the deceived devil, widely used in fairy tales and popular stories, must be the basic element of this miracle; the Hellenistic Christian church was responsible for its elaboration and adaptation to Jesus.¹ According to M. Dibelius, this story is full of profane features, and the ethical standard of the Gospel is missing.² However, Dibelius rejected the motif of the deceived devil. To him, the fate of the demons remains uncertain: Did they really loose their home and perish in the sea; did they go to the abyss as Luke seems to suggest (Lk. 8.31)?

Dibelius thinks of a Jewish origin of this story, despite its profane character. I believe that it was created in the Palestinian Church and may reflect a debate about its mission.³ There is nothing profane in the story. What first becomes clear is the Jewish way of looking at the gentiles and the emphasis on ritual purity. The Decapolis, to which Gerasa belongs, appears to be an unclean country inhabited by people that even raise swine; that is why unclean spirits like to stay in such a place (v. 10). There was a whole legion of them dwelling in one single man (v. 9). In my understanding, the designation "legion" need not necessarily refer to a military unit and a historical event.⁴ More probably it points to the well-disciplined world of demons that

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 224f.

² *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 5th ed. (Tübingen, 1966), pp. 84-87.

³ See Acts 10.12-14. With regard to the missionary activity of the Palestinian Church, see M. Hengel, "Die Ursprünge der christlichen Mission", *New Testament Studies*, 18 (1971), 15-39.

⁴ P. Winter thinks that the story alludes to the Roman *Legio Decima* that operated in Galilee during the First Jewish Revolt and had a boar as its emblem (*On the Trial of Jesus* [Berlin, 1961], p. 129).

are under the rule of Satan and organized in a military fashion. The poor victim, possessed by such a host of demons, was forced to live in an inhuman, chaotic and extremely slovenly life. He made his dwelling among the tombs (v. 3), and even his gentile countrymen were horrified and pitied by his conduct (v. 5). They tried in vain to bind him with fetters and chains (v. 4), in order to master the demonic force acting through him.¹ In his encounter with Jesus, the man addressed him in a way similar to that of the demoniac at Capernaum, asking, "What have you to do with me, Son of the Most High God?" (v. 7; cf. 1.24; I Kgs. 17.18). This formula, expressing separation and otherness, reveals that there is "eternal enmity" between the demons and the realm of light (1QS 4.17). The demoniac adjured Jesus not to torment him (v. 7). The proper task of demons is to punish and to torment people;² those of Gerasa were afraid of receiving punishment according to the *ius talionis*. They did not, however, see the real threat of their eschatological destruction.

From the eschatological point of view, this miracle is also a sign. For the signal of the age to come will be the elimination of the demons; they will be rushed to Sheol and arrested behind its strong gates (1QS 27.1,5; 1QH 3.17f.). As in the preceding miracle of the storm, the sea is the symbol for the power of chaos in Mark 5.1-20. This story was not told because of the disaster of a herd of swine,³ but because of the elimination of a host of demons (cf. Lk. 8.31).

Our story belongs closely linked with Mk. 4.35-41, not only because of the formal tie of the boat (Mk. 5.1f). More important is their common theological goal. Both miracles allude to the Red Sea event in order to show Jesus as a redeemer like Moses: the stilling of the storm is focused on the salvation of Israel; the miracle of the Gerasene demoniac shows the destruction of its enemies. As the army of the Egyptians was drowned in the Red Sea, so the legion of demons perished in the Galilean Sea: "The waters covered their adversaries, not one of them was left" (Psa. 106.9; cf. Isa. 43.16f.). In the second morning prayer after the recitation of the Shema Israel, the Jews are praising

¹ Binding and arresting is God's way of eliminating demons. Man can only bind the possessed man and heighten his pain.

² See Mk. 5.5 and P. Fiebig, *Rabbinische Wundergeschichten des NT Zeitalters (Kleine Texte, ed. H. Lietzmann, Nr. 78)*, p. 9: Agrat, the princess of the demons, is in command of myriads of punishing angels, each of them having the authority of destroying (*habbel*). See also bBerakoth 33a: the snake's business is to do harm (*hizziq*; cf. Fiebig, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

³ This is the opinion of Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

God : "Thou hast redeemed Thy firstborn, Thou hast split the Red Sea and hast drowned the wicked (*zēdīm*). And Thy beloved Thou hast led to the other side, but the waters covered their oppressors".¹ This is the theme of the two miracles in Mk. 4.35-5.20 wherein Jesus acts as the instrument of God's salvation. But in them the event at the Red Sea is repeated on the higher eschatological plain and transformed in a very significant way. The legion drowned in the Sea is not a legion of Roman soldiers corresponding with the army of the Egyptians, but a host of demons. In my opinion, this story contains a play on the words *zēdīm* = wicked ones, and *shēdīm* = demons. It means that the real enemy of Israel is not a political power such as Egypt or Rome, but Satan with his demons being the enemies of all mankind. There is a humane and universal outlook in this strange story of Mk. 5.1-20 : the gentiles are not the objects of God's wrath and the victims of his victory in the Holy War;² they too will be saved, and their salvation is from the Jews.

III. CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is no space for analyzing the other miracles of Keck's block in a detailed way; I simply want to make a few brief remarks about them. The miracle of Jesus' walking on the sea (Mk. 6.45-52) is a variant of Mk. 4.35-51. It also is a miracle of stilling the storm and of crossing over to the other side.³ It is followed by the feeding of the multitudes in the desert (Mk. 6.30-44). Both stories were transmitted as a firm unity in the early Church because they always belong together in the four gospels. This may be due to their common biblical background. It is again the exodus of Israel, in particular the Red Sea event and the feeding of Israel with manna (cf. Jn. 6.31). Here again, one should not speak of "nature miracles" and of the Divine Man theology.

In general, the Old Testament and the milieu of Jewish exegesis help to explain best the miracles in the gospels. Moreover, they cannot have originated in Hellenistic Judaism as Philo and Josephus present it,

¹ D.W. Staerk, *Altjüdische Liturgische Gebete (Kleine Texte, ed. H. Lietzmann, Nr. 8)*, p. 7.

² See the War Scroll of Qumran (1QM).

³ The background of Mk. 6.45-52 is again the Red Sea event. This becomes clear that the story of Peter's walking on the water could be added (Mt. 14.28-31). One has to remember that the rabbinic exegesis of Ex. 14, according to which the Israelite Nachshon was the first to step into the Red Sea. He is described as having begun to sink, but the rod of Moses saved him (Mekilta Ex., ed. Lauterbach, vol. II, 235).

which means in a Judaism free from eschatological expectations and apocalyptic ideas. For these miracles are signs, pointing to the great revelation of righteousness in the near future; they are expressions of the apocalyptic mood. The interest in the manifestation of the power of Jesus, which is certainly characteristic for these miracles, was not kindled by the necessity of making him a successful competitor of Hellenistic Divine Men. For these saving deeds were demanded by Jewish messianism. The Christ had to be "attested by God with mighty works and wonders" (Acts 2.22); the Jews asked for signs (I Cor. 1.22). Moreover, the miracles of Jesus were not told primarily to overcome the disappointment because of the delayed Parousia. Their emphasis on the present does not do away with the future. They reveal the presence of the Messiah with whom the Kingdom is beginning to be realized (Mt. 12.28).

Finally, I do not think that there is such a complicated Christology in Mark, resulting from two opposing views and a rejected heresy. Mark's main task was to prove that Jesus was indeed the Messiah despite his crucifixion. That is why he needed the miracles demonstrating the messianic authority of Jesus and why he showed the willingness of Jesus to give his life as a ransom for many (Mk. 10.45).

There are attempts to explain the Christology of John's Gospel in a way similar to the Divine Man analysis of Mark. We are told that there is a rather primitive *Θεὸς ἀνὴρ* presentation of Jesus in the Johannine Semeia-Source which had been corrected by the sophisticated Revealer Christology of the evangelist.¹ I must confess that the existence of such a Semeia-Source seems to me no less questionable than that of the so-called Divine Man concept.

¹ J. Becker, "Wunder und Christologie", *New Testament Studies*, 16 (1970), 130-48. But see my article, "Was kann von Nazareth Gutes kommen?" in the forthcoming Festschrift for K. Elliger.

CHRISTIAN BAPTISM AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF MELITO OF SARDIS RECONSIDERED

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The discovery of Melito's *Homily on the Passover* and its subsequent publication¹ has generated considerable scholarly interest over the last three decades. Bibliography, including books, theses and articles on different aspects of this subject, is rapidly increasing.² Seminars on Christian origins are currently devoting their study to the *Homily*.³ Recent festschrifts, similar to this one, include several essays on Melito.⁴ It seems fitting, therefore, that a festschrift for the distinguished chairman of the University of Chicago's Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature should include one also.

My concern presently is with the assumption that Melito's *Homily on the Passover* provides additional second century support for the view that the effects of Christ's atoning death are applied to the believer by baptism, i.e. that by baptism the Holy Spirit is bestowed, that baptism effects the forgiveness of sins, the new birth, incorporation into Christ and into his mystical body the church, etc.⁵—all this though there is no explicit reference to baptism in the *Homily*.⁶

Many scholars, however, see allusions to baptism scattered through-

¹ Campbell Bonner, ed., *Melito of Sardis : The Homily on the Passion with some Fragments of Ezekiel*, Studies and Documents, Vol. XII (Philadelphia, 1940); Frederick G. Kenyon, ed., *Enoch and Melito*, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri : Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts of the Greek Bible, Fasc. 8 (London, 1941); Michel Testuz, ed., *Méliton de Sardes Homélie sur la Pâque*, Papyrus Bodmer XIII (Geneva, 1960).

² Professor Stuart G. Hall (Nottingham) is now in the process of compiling a bibliographical report on research done to date on Melito.

³ The 1971-1972 topic for the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, for example, is "Melito of Sardis and his *Paschal Homily*".

⁴ See, for example, P. Cranfield and J.A. Jungmann, eds., *KYRIAKON : Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1970); E. Lohse, et al., eds., *Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde : Ezegetische Untersuchungen : Joachim Jeremias zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern* (Göttingen, 1970).

⁵ Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* (London, 1951), pp. 115f.

⁶ There is a difference of opinion on this point, but I have chosen to discuss it at a later place in this article. See below, p. 243, n. 4.

out the *Homily*.¹ Melito's use of *χρίσαστε* (*Hom.* 14), for example, instead of the Septuagint words *θήσουσιν* or *βάψαντες* (Ex. 12:7,22), to describe the application of the blood to the door of the Israelite's houses, is seen as a deliberate change on his part to make the ancient type harmonize better with its antitype, i.e. the unction of the Holy Spirit at baptism.²

That Melito should choose the word *σφραγίζειν* to describe the effects of the paschal sacrifice (*Hom.* 15, cf. 16) is supposed also to be evidence for the fact that baptism was in his thinking: "Moses having sacrificed the sheep, and having fulfilled the mystery during the night ... sealed the doors of the houses in order to ward off the angel."³ This supposition seems strengthened by considering the correlative passage (*Hom.* 67). There Melito in writing now of Christ says, "This one, having been led as a lamb, and sacrificed as a sheep, redeemed us from servitude to the world ... and sealed our souls with His own spirit, and the members of our body with His own blood."⁴

In *Hom.* 30 Melito said that "Israel was being guarded by the sacrifice of the sheep, and was being enlightened by the blood which had been poured out." His use of *συμφωτίζεσθαι* is considered still another allusion to baptism. Since there was no hint in the Exodus Passover passage of Israel being illumined, and since illumination is used of baptism,⁵ it seems reasonable to assume that enlightenment is here a type of that which finds itself realized in the Christian Passover: "this is spiritual illumination by baptism."⁶ And the reference to the blood as the agent of enlightenment is really a reference to the death of Christ rendered efficacious at baptism.

That Melito should explain the Christian's deliverance from the

¹ For example, see O. Perler, ed., *Méliton de Sardes sur la Pâque et Fragments*, Sources chrétiennes, Vol. 123 (Paris, 1966), pp. 145f., 151, *passim*; Josef Blank, *Méliton von Sardes vom Passa: Die älteste christliche Osterpredigt* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1962), pp. 56f., *passim*, Raniero Cantalamessa, *L'Omelia "In S. pascha" dello pseudo-Ippocito di Roma: Ricerche sulla Teologia dell'Asia Minore nella seconda metà del II Secolo* (Milan, 1967), pp. 287-328, where he discusses the doctrine of baptism and relates it to Ps.-Hippolytus and Melito's *Homily*.

² Perler, *Méliton*, p. 144.

³ Perler, *Méliton*, p. 145; Blank, *Méliton*, pp. 55f.; Cantalamessa, *L'Omelia*, pp. 308f., 314, 319.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 324; Lampe, *Seal*, p. 116.

⁵ Cf. Justin *I Apol.* 61.12-13; 65. 1; Clement of Alexandria *Protr.* 9.84.1, 2; 12.120.1,3; *Paed.* 1.6.26f.

⁶ Perler, *Méliton*, p. 151. Bonner, *Melito*, p. 171, even goes so far as to translate this passage, "Israel was baptized (*συμφωτίζετο*) by the shed blood".

world and the devil into the freedom of the kingdom of life and light (*Hom.* 67-68) by analogy to Israel's Exodus from Egypt is supposedly best understood when thought of in connection with the baptism event.¹ "If this is so, then we have here a clear witness to the fact that in Melito's community baptism was celebrated on the Passover night. The distinct allusions to the baptism symbols, especially in the last section of the *Homily*, confirm this all the more. Christians celebrated their Exodus under a new leader of salvation, the new Passover lamb, Christ ... We have therefore, the oldest proof for the union of Christian Easter and baptism."²

Section 103 of the *Homily* is considered the clearest of all allusions to baptism. Note these words of Christ: "Come all families of men... and receive forgiveness of sins." Unable to conceive of the blessings of salvation being communicated apart from sacraments, such scholars as Perler and Blank affirm, therefore, that this invitation is an invitation to receive remission of sins through the sacrament of baptism.³ The Bodmer text of the *Homily*, as published by Testuz, confirms this hypothesis by a reading different from that which appears in the Bonner edition of the Michigan-Beatty manuscript. There Christ says, "I am your baptism" (λουτρόν, lit., "washing"), instead of "I am your ransom" (λύτρον).

I have difficulty with these assumptions, however, and will try now to make clear why I reject them.

1. Not once in his *Homily* did Melito use either the word βάπτισμα or λουτρόν or any of their cognates.⁴ Nor did he use the words "water" or "washing" in spite of their importance as common metonyms for

¹ So Blank, *Meliton*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 75f.

³ Perler, *Meliton*, p. 204; Blank, *Meliton*, pp. 89-94; see also Cantalamessa, *L'Omelia*, p. 293, n. 51.

⁴ I reject the Bodmer reading for *Hom.* 103, λουτρόν, in spite of the fact that the Michigan Beatty Papyrus is defective at this point. Bonner, in my judgment, has correctly reconstructed the text to read λ[ύτρον] as can be seen by comparing *Hom.* 103: "I am the Passover of your salvation, I am the lamb sacrificed for you, I am your ransom", with *Hom.* 67, its parallel: "This one who was led away as a lamb, and who was sacrificed as a sheep, himself ransomed [ἐλυτρώσατο] us". The Latin Epitome of the *Homily* supports this reconstruction by its translation, *redemptio* (see H. Chadwick, "A Latine Epitome of Melito's Homily on the Pascha" *Journal of Theological Studies*, 11 (1960), 76-82.

baptism.¹ If he intended to speak of baptism in so many places then he was certainly abstruse about it.

This abstruseness, of course, could be explained by the fact that the *Homily* was a Passover sermon delivered during the course of the Easter celebration—a time particularly appropriate for baptism, since it focused attention upon the death, burial, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Hence, it may seem reasonable to some to argue that since the *Homily* was given in a context of baptism, vague allusions to baptism were all that were necessary. But this kind of argument presupposes (1) that baptism actually did form a part of the Easter celebration in the second century, clear evidence for which seems not to come before the third century² and 2) that if it did, it had such a central place in the Christian Passover that no specific mention of the action was needed. Both of these presuppositions are weak and the absence of any specific word for baptism is still surprising.

2. I do not for a moment question the fact that Christian writers from earliest times did connect the forgiveness of sins with baptism,³ but they did not always do so. In the New Testament, for example, the idea of forgiveness of sins is most frequently not associated with baptism.⁴ Even post-apostolic writers, who readily connect forgiveness of sins with baptism, also speak about forgiveness of sins in other ways as well.⁵

And to say that baptism as a means of receiving forgiveness and the gift of the Holy Spirit is always implied in places where the express connection between the two is not made seems wrong to me. Acts 10:43-44 shows the error of such reasoning. In this passage Peter

¹ See Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John : A Commentary*, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray, et al. (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 182ff., especially the footnotes, for detailed information on the meaning and importance of water and its relationship to baptism. ὕδωρ (ὕδωρ = Bodmer), however, does appear in the *Homily* (68), but only in the review of Jewish salvation history : "How high a price did you place on the gift of manna from heaven and the gift of water from the rock".

² *Apost. Trad.* 20.8; Tertullian *De bapt.* 19.1-2

³ Mk. 1.4; Lk. 3.3; Acts 2.38; Barnabas 11.2; *Hermas Mand.* 4.3.1-3; Justin *I Apol.* 61.10; 66.10; *Dial.* 44.4; Tertullian *De bapt., passim*.

⁴ Mt. 26.28, where it is related to Christ's blood poured out; Lk. 1.17; Acts 5.31; 10.43; 13.38; Eph. 1.7; Col. 1.14; Heb. 9.22.

⁵ Cf., for example, *Hermas Mand.* 4.4.4, where forgiveness of transgressions depends on keeping "my commandments". Cf. also Barnabas 5.1; 8.3 : "The boys who sprinkle are they who preached to us the forgiveness of sins;" Justin *Dial.* 95.3; 141.3, etc.

preached to Cornelius and his household about forgiveness of sins through the name of Christ, and while he was still speaking the Holy Spirit fell upon all who heard. The sequence, thus, is preaching, believing, forgiveness of sins, receiving of the Holy Spirit. Only at a later time was baptism administered to these new Christians. Acts 8:16-17 also disassociates baptism, forgiveness of sins and the reception of the Holy Spirit. Here people are baptized first and then later receive the Holy Spirit. And Saul/Paul on the other hand, seems to have received forgiveness of sins and the Holy Spirit first, and then was baptized at a later time (Acts 9:17f.).¹

But my point here is not to deny that writers of the New Testament and of the second century church saw a close interrelating of baptism, the forgiveness of sins and the reception of the Holy Spirit, because many did. It is only to indicate that not all of them did, or if they did, that they were not always consistent in maintaining this interrelation. My point, rather, is to stress that the mere unqualified mention of the forgiveness of sins, or the gift of the Holy Spirit must not automatically be understood as an unequivocal reference to water baptism.

Therefore, when Christ said through Melito, "Come all families of men and receive forgiveness of sins" (*Hom.* 103), he did not *necessarily* mean, "Come and *be baptized* for the forgiveness of sins." It is possible Melito believed that this act of forgiveness was effected immediately by a personal encounter with the living Christ who boldly affirmed, "I am your forgiveness!" (*Hom.* 103)²

¹ There are also the much debated texts of Mk. 1.9-10 and parallels which could indicate a time lapse between the baptism of Jesus and the descent of the Spirit upon Him. There is also the question of the Eleven upon whom Jesus breathed and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (Jn. 20.22). What connection is there here with water baptism? And what relation is there between baptism and the descent of the Spirit upon those in the upper room on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2.1-4)? Passages like Mt. 3.11; Jn. 1.33; Acts 1.5 not only distinguish between baptism with water and baptism with the Spirit but they disconnect the two. See G. Dix, "The 'Seal' in the Second Century", *Theology*, 51 (1948), 7-12, where he gathers from the New Testament and early Christian literature evidence to show that the gift of the Holy Spirit does not accompany baptism.

² The fact that Perler quotes from a sermon very like *Hom.* 103 in form and vocabulary which teaches baptism for immortality, etc. is no proof that Melito also taught this. It may indicate that this later homilist copied Melito's form and so interpreted his words, but that is as far as it is legitimate to go in one's assumptions. The section Perler quotes is from Ps.-Hippolytus, *Eis τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια*, 8 : διὸ κηρύσσω λέγων · Λεῖτε πᾶσαι αἱ πατρίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀθανάσιαν . . . καὶ πῶς, φησὶν, ἐλευσόμεθα, πῶς ; δι' ὕδατος καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος (see Perler, *Meliton*, p. 205). Clearly this passage

3. It is also a fact that the word "seal" was associated with baptism in the second century,¹ but it is not true to say that it was everywhere a metonym for baptism and that every time it appears in Christian writings baptism is meant. *Epistula Apostolorum* 41 (Coptic), for example, seems to distinguish baptism from the seal: "He will receive from you the light of the seal through me, and baptism through me,"² Usually when one of the early Fathers chose to use "seal" as a symbol of baptism, he was careful to explain his intent by the use of an accompanying genitive,³ or the addition of some clarifying clause or phrase.⁴

Often "seal" was but a *metaphor* for sureness, protection, identity, a mark of belonging.⁵ In my judgment it is the metaphorical idea of

is similar in form with *Hom.* 103, many of its words are alike, and the appeal is like Melito's appeal. But it is important to note that this later preacher needed to be explicit about baptism as the means by which we come into immortality and life. Melito's appeal is to come to Christ for forgiveness and eternal life, but that coming is not explained as being *through baptism*!

¹ II Clem. 7.6; 8.6; *Hermas Sim.* 9.16.3-7; 9.17.4 (?); *Odes of Solomon* 4.8; 8.16 (it should be noted, however, that Rendel Harris in his *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, pp. 111f. thinks that the conception of the seal in the *Odes* is derived from Ezek. 9.6 without reference to baptism. So also J.E. Carpenter, *Phases of Early Christianity*, p. 48, who says the *Odes* contain no reference to church or sacraments. But contrast J.H. Bernard, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1911), 1ff., who sees the theme of baptism in every Ode. See Lampe, *Seal*, p. 111; Irenaeus *Demonstr.* 3; 25; cf. 100; Acts of Peter 5; Acts of Paul and Thecla 25; 34; cf. 40.

² See also Acts of Thomas 26; 29, where a rite is described which consists only of anointing followed by the celebration of the Eucharist. "The anointing rite is performed as a sealing". See J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origin and Early Development* (Nymegen, 1962), p. 393.

³ II Clem. 7.6; 8.6: "The seal of baptism".

⁴ *Hermas Sim.* 9.16.4: "The seal, then, is the water". F. Dölger, *Sphragis* (Paderborn, 1911), p. 70, found proof that in the second century *σφράγης* was a name for baptism. But as Ysebaert points out, since *Hermas* does not consider it necessary to explain to his contemporaries that "the water" is a name for baptism, then "if he was obliged to explain the metaphor of the seal we must conclude that he uses *σφράγης* in a sense with which his milieu was not familiar (*Baptismal Terminology*, pp. 348-51). See also Gottfried Fitzer, "*σφράγης*", *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. 7.

⁵ Cf. Mt. 27.66; Jn. 3.33; Rom. 4.11; 15.18; I Cor. 9.2; II Tim. 2.19; Rev. 5.1,2,5,9, etc.; I Clem. 43.5; Barnabas 9.6. The two New Testament passages that are considered key texts for any study that would connect the seal with baptism seem to me to teach just the opposite: II Cor. 1.21f., "It is God who establishes us with you in Christ (*Χριστόν*) and has commissioned (*χρίσας*) us; he has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee", and Eph. 1.13, "In him (Christ) you also, who have

"protection", or "ownership" that Melito has in mind when he uses the verb *σφραγίζειν*.¹ The households of Israel were protected by the blood of the lamb, and the Christian is made secure by the work of One who is both God and man (*Hom.* 67). No qualifying expressions appear in the *Homily* to define the seal except those indicating the means of the sealing—"the blood of the sheep," on the one hand (*Hom.* 17), Christ's "own spirit and ... blood," on the other (*Hom.* 67). These—blood and spirit—for Melito *are* the seals, the marks of protection or ownership, not baptism or any other sacrament.²

The same can be said for the admittedly strange term Melito used to describe Israel's protection—"protected by the slaughter of the sheep, and *enlightened*³ by its shed blood" (*Hom.* 30). True, the terms "enlighten" and "enlightenment" were used occasionally to describe baptism,⁴ and possibly as early as the second century they had become technical terms for baptism.⁵ But again, this does not mean that every time these words appear baptism is intended. More frequently they refer to the spiritual or intellectual illumination which removes

heard the word of truth ... and have believed in him were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit, which is the guarantee of our inheritance". In both of these passages *the seal* and the Holy Spirit are mentioned together, and in Mk. 1.9f., and parallels; Acts 2.38; 19.5f. *baptism* and the Holy Spirit are mentioned together. From this it is often concluded, though wrongly, that "seal" and "baptism" are thus always to be equated. But it is clear from Acts 10.43-50 (see above) that at least on one occasion the gift of the Spirit preceded baptism and had no necessary link with it. And it is also clear from Eph. 1.13 that the Holy Spirit himself *is* the seal and guarantee of the promised inheritance, not baptism. II Cor. 1.22, then, should be interpreted in light of Eph. 1.13, because the literary form of II Cor. 1.22 appears to be a type of parallelism equating the second member with the first, the Holy Spirit with the seal.

¹ *Hom.* 15,16,17,67. The noun *σφράγις* never appears in the *Homily*.

² Cf. Dix, "Seal", p. 40, who is certain that Melito should be accounted as a witness to the use of "the seal" for chrismation, not for water baptism.

³ *συνεφωτίζετο*, which Bonner has translated "was baptized" (*Melito*, p. 171). This word is not used in the New Testament or in any other Christian writer besides Melito. See G.W.H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961-68).

⁴ Possibly Heb. 6.4; 10.32 refer to baptism through the use of "enlighten" (but see H. Kosmola, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der früh-christlichen Verkündigung* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 117ff.), and also Ignatius *Rom.* inscr., but the first reference to baptism as "enlightenment" is not until Justin *I Apol.* 61.13; cf. 65.1; *Dial.* 39.2; 122.1; cf. 122. 3; Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 1.26.1; cf. *Strom.* 5.15.3; *Paed.* 2.79.3.

⁵ Though interestingly, these terms for enlightenment must be explained on most occasions whenever they refer to baptism: *καλεῖται τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός* (Justin *I Apol.* 61.12).

ignorance, whether done by God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, or by the preaching of the Gospel.¹ Perhaps Melito intended, by his use of *συμφωτίζεσθαι*, simply to convey the idea that God enabled the people of Israel to understand the true meaning of the blood smeared on their doors, if he intended anything at all by it beyond what rhetorical effect such a new and strange word might have on his audience.

4. Too little note has been taken of Melito's rhetoric in relation to his theological statements.² When a careful analysis is made of the rhetorical devices Melito used, and of their abundance, one is struck by the fact that this *Homily* was no ordinary sermon, but one created for a special occasion, perhaps the Easter celebration, and that Melito was no ordinary person. Everything in his *Homily* was designed to contribute in grandiose fashion to some festive event. And everything in it shows Melito to be an orator like the orators of the second Sophistic movement—a preacher, belonging more to the order of prophets and poets, than to that of theologians. He appears as one who gains his insight by inspiration rather than by serious reflection, by feeling more than by thinking. The heart and imagination are his primary tools, and experience more important than dogma. How his sermon sounded, therefore was as important to Melito as what it said. This alone can account for many of, what might be called, the “theologically unguarded” remarks which keep cropping up in the *Homily*.

But it can also account for the “unexpected” as far as vocabulary is concerned—words such as *συμφωτίζεσθαι* (*Hom.* 30, and noted above). Melito liked the unusual word, the rare one, sometimes coining new ones to fit his need. *Χρίσατε* (*Hom.* 14), instead of the Septuagint *θήσουσι*, should not, therefore, be thought of as an allusion to the unction of the Holy Spirit at baptism anymore than of an attempt on Melito's part to be rhetorical. In fact, when the whole passage is considered, one discovers that *χρίειν* really does not replace *τιθέναι* at all, as Perler suggested.³ Melito added it to *τιθέναι* for dramatic effect, using two different verbs, similar in meaning, to heighten a single idea :

¹ Jn. 1.9; I Cor. 4.5; Eph. 1.18; II Tim. 1.10; Rev. 18.1; Acts of Paul 43; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.10.2; even Melito *Hom.* 41f.; Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 1.29.3; *Strom.* 5. 64.4.

² I have attempted to do this in an earlier study. See Gerald F. Hawthorne, “Melito of Sardis: His Rhetoric and Theology”, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1969).

³ Perler, *Méliton*, p. 144.

λαβόντες δὲ τὸ τοῦ προβάτου αἷμα
 κρίσατε τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν οἰκίων ὑμῶν
 τιθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σταθμοὺς τῆς τοῦ
 σημείου τοῦ αἵματος . . . (cf. Ex. 12.1 LXX)

Theology, I suggest, did not determine Melito's choice of words; rhetoric did.

5. The fact that by the middle of the second century baptism had begun to loom so large in the thinking of the church as a means for effecting the blessings of salvation, with almost a magical quality to it,¹ is by itself reason enough for not finding any reference to baptism in the *Homily*. Melito's Christology² excluded it. It stands opposed to the idea of sacrament or anything else intervening between Christ and the sinner. In Melito's thought Christ is supreme. He is the All (9), the Logos (9), Grace (9), Glory (45), the mystery of the Passover (65)³ the Passover of our Salvation (69), Master (81), Forgiveness (103), Light (103), Savior (103), even Father (9) and God (9). Melito also includes so many other titles and phrases descriptive of Christ, that when he finishes talking of His person and work, there is little else to be said about God (i.e. the Father)⁴.

Christ is so central, and the salvation he extends to all mankind (*Hom.* 103) so complete and so totally His own work that there is nothing left for the individual to contribute to it—not his free choice, his good deeds, nor his repentance. Not even his faith, the most important New Testament word to describe the subjective aspect of salvation, is given any place in the *Homily*,⁵ because for Melito friendship with God is established *directly* through the resurrected

¹ Ignatius *Smyrn.* 8.2; Barnabas 11.1; Hermas *Vis.* 3.3.5; *Sim.* 9.16.4; *Mand.* 4.3.1. See A. Oepke, "βάπτω", *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. G.W. Bromiley, I, 544.

² I have developed Melito's theology in detail elsewhere, and in the compass of this article, can only touch on its high points without giving the documentation I should like in order to support my remarks. See Hawthorne, "Melito of Sardis", pp. 330-66.

³ See G. Racle, "Perspective christologiques de l'Homélie pascale de Méliton de Sardes", *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 50 (1962), 400-408.

⁴ It is easy to understand why later theologians classified Melito with the Monarchian modalists. Cf. Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. N. Buchanan (Boston, 1900), II, 140.

⁵ πίστις appears only once in the *Homily*, 57 (the Bodmer text has it also in 58) and without an object, and πιστεύω is found only in 61 but in a quotation from Deut. 28.66.

Christ who is *immediately* present,¹ and who continuously confronts sinners with Himself (*Hom.* 103). No mediating agency not even faith is allowed to come between the Savior and the saved.² Salvation for Melito is guaranteed to men, therefore, not by sacrament but by the incarnation, and is communicated not through rite, but through personal encounter with the resurrected Christ.

I conclude, therefore, that it is by no means proved that Melito alluded even once to baptism in his *Homily*.³ Rather, he seems to have deliberately refrained from making any reference to the sacraments whatsoever.⁴ He appears more like a mystic than a sacramentalist.⁵

This is not to say, however, that Melito had no interest in the subject of baptism. Eusebius says he wrote a treatise on baptism,⁶ and a

¹ No doubt Melito understood this to mean "present in the sermon", not baptism, for it was as a prophet that he spoke for Christ, or rather that Christ spoke through him (cf. Ignatius *Philad.* 7.1.; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.24.5. and Jerome *De vir. ill.* 24; PL, XXIII, 277a). For an understanding of the prophetic consciousness, cf. the statement of Christ in Odes of Solomon 42.6: "And I have arisen and am among them and I speak through their mouth" (Hennecke, *Apochrypha*, II, 624).

² Contrast Hermas *Vis.* 3.8.3, where the first lady is called Faith: "Through her the chosen of God are saved". The words "knowledge", "know" (*Hom.* 47), "understand" (*Hom.* 26,82) and especially "see" (*Hom.* 17,19,21,32,36²,58,59,82,94), more appropriately describe Melito's conception of the Christ-sinner relationship. In one revealing passage, *Hom.* 82, Melito groups together these three words in an indictment against Israel—she did not "see, understand or know God"—and in so doing discloses his "existential" orientation. "Faith" is replaced or reinterpreted by him as "seeing", "knowing", "understanding" God. There is here the immediate vision, a truly mystical experience. Note in this connection the colophon attached to the *Homily* in the Bodmer Ms.: *τοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν κύριον* ..., and Blank's discerning comment, "Der christliche Glaube, wie ihn Meliton hier bezeugt, ist zuletzt nichts anderes als die Begegnung des Menschen mit DISEM" (*Meliton*, p. 97). On the meaning of *gnosis* in the religious speech of the age see Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 95ff.

³ One can always find what he wants to find. "Merx", notes Bultmann, *John*, p. 241, n. 8 "even finds a symbolic representation of Jesus as the 'shepherd' in the sheep gate and of baptism in the pool".

⁴ This in spite of the fact that baptism was supposed to be part of the Christian Passover ceremonies.

⁵ In this respect Melito is less in harmony with the "orthodox" writers than with the Gnostics, some of whom regarded all ceremonies, baptism, anointings, etc., as superfluous, and maintained that the true *λύτρωσις* was obtained purely through *γνώσις* (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.21.4; see Lampe, *Seal*, p. 124).

⁶ Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.2, but Eusebius tells us nothing about what he had to say on the subject of baptism.

fragment of Melito, entitled *On Baptism* is still in existence.¹ Baptism also figures in three other fragments attributed to him, fragments VI, XII² and XIII.³ But in all these fragments, except for fragment XII, only the baptism of Jesus is referred to, never that of Christians.

The fragment *On Baptism* (VIII) can be interpreted as an apology on Melito's part—an attempt by him to explain why the baptism of Jesus, which seems an embarrassment to him, was necessary. Fragment XII, which speaks of the Christian's baptism as one of two means for procuring remission of sins, is so unlike the *Homily* in typology and theology, that it cannot possibly be considered genuine.⁴ Hence, the subject of baptism as a sacrament of the church that is required of Christians to effect their salvation has as little place in the fragments attributed to Melito as in his *Homily*.

Melito was indeed interested in the matter of baptism. If, however, we only knew more of what he wrote on the subject we might be surprised to discover that he opposed that practice of the "orthodox" church, rather than endorsed it.

¹ See E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1914), pp. 310f. Robert M. Grant, *The Fragments of the Greek Apologists and Irenaeus*, *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. N. Birdsall and R.W. Thomson (New York, 1963), p. 198, lists this fragment under the heading, "Fragments (of Melito) doubtfully genuine".

² For these two fragments see Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, pp. 310, 313.

³ For this fragment see J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi* (Jena, 1847-72), IX, 419. On the subject of the genuineness of this fragment see W. Schneemelcher, "Der Sermo 'De Anima et Corpore'", *Festschrift für Günter Dehn* (Bonn, 1957), pp. 133-38.

⁴ Both Grant, "Fragments", p. 198 and Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, p. 313, say this fragment comes from Eusebius of Emessa, not Melito.

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Allen Paul Wikgren was born in Chicago, Illinois, on December 3, 1906. His long and close association with the University of Chicago began with his *cursus studiorum* there, where he received his B.A. *cum laude* in Greek at the University College (1928), M.A. (1929) and his Ph.D. (1932) for which he wrote his dissertation entitled, *A Comparative Study of the Theodotionic and Septuagint Versions of Daniel*. Following teaching appointments at Central Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Kansas (1935-37) in New Testament Literature, and at Ottawa University in Ottawa, Kansas (1937-40) in Biblical Literature and Classics, Professor Wikgren returned to the University of Chicago in 1940. He has maintained an active role in the University community, serving on the council of the University Senate, teaching, and administering the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature from 1953-72. During his career he has lectured or held visiting professorships at a number of universities including Indiana University in Gary, Indiana, The Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California, The University of Ghana in West Africa (participating in the Ford Foundation University Exchange Program), Aarhus University, Denmark, Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois, and the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Professor Wikgren is probably best known for his work pertaining to the history of the Bible, especially in New Testament textual criticism and in the history of the English and other versions of the Bible. He has been instrumental in the increasing appreciation of the Biblical text of the Greek lectionaries as the director (1958-1972) of the Chicago Lectionary Project, whose results have been incorporated into modern editions of the Greek New Testament by the American and United Bible Societies, and into the critical apparatus of the *Novum Testamentum Graece Evangelium Secundum Lucam* scheduled for publication by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. His studies in the history of the English translation of the Bible and in the problems and principles of translation will continue to be of value throughout

the English-speaking world through his participation in the translation of the Revised Standard Version of the Apocrypha and in the revisions of the New Testament Revised Standard Version, including the *Common Bible* which has been prepared with the collaboration of both Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars.

Two other closely related areas to which Professor Wikgren has devoted much productive study are late Jewish literature and Hellenistic and Biblical Greek. His appreciation for the integrity of the Greek language of the Hellenistic and early Christian eras, and his emphasis upon the importance of the intertestamental, Qumran and later Jewish literature for the understanding of the New Testament and early Christian literature, have provided examples of abiding influence upon his students.

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